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# East Europe Report

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14 APRIL 1987

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ECONOMY

BULGARIA

BULGARIAN COMPUTER EXHIBITION HELD IN BUDAPEST

AU241210 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 23 Mar 87 p 7

[Report: "Worthy Partners in the Field of Electronics"]

[Excerpts] Budapest, our correspondent Radka Nenova--However strange it may seem to modern man to see a computer beside an elegant statue by a good sculptor, this model for an exhibition, that combines modern equipment with works of art, is becoming more and more popular in the world. This is not modernism for its own sake--the aspiration now is to close the gap between mankind's world of science and technology and the world of the arts. The large exhibition "Bulgarian Computer Equipment '87" which opens here tomorrow, is constructed on these lines.

The latest achievements of Bulgarian computer technology will be presented to a wide range of Hungarian specialists in a 500-square-meter area in the halls of the National Art Gallery in the Buda fortress. This is the first occasion on which a foreign firm has presented its own technical exhibition in the halls of the gallery. In this exhibition, the Iztoimpex Foreign Trade Organization and its Budapest office set themselves the ambitious task of opening up new opportunities for cooperation in this field.

The exhibits include the "Izot 1014" high-capacity computer complex, which solves a wide range of scientific, technical, and information problems.

In addition, the broad range of personal computers now being produced in Bulgaria is represented by the "Pravets-16" ES 1831 and ES 1832 16-bit computers. They have been used as the basis for developing various automated work stations for planners, designers, and economists, as well as a system for hotel administration equipped with electronic cash registers.

With the aid of their Bulgarian colleagues, the Hungarian specialists will be able to test here their own programs that have been compiled in their enterprises. They regard this as a far from ordinary exhibition, and one which offers a practical opportunity to investigate the market and conclude deals.

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CSO: 2200/76

## COMPONENT AVAILABILITY FOR ELECTRONICS ANALYZED

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech No 48, 1986 pp 1, 7

[Article by Prof Eng Milan Kubat, doctor of science, minister of the Electronics Industry for the CSSR: "Components Base for Electronics in Eighth 5-Year Plan: We Know What Must Be Done"]

[Text] The components base of the electronics industry received priority treatment beginning in the Seventh 5-Year Plan. While the Czechoslovak electrotechnical industry was increasing its product output by an average of 8.5 percent a year, electronics component production was increasing at 15 percent annually, and integrated circuit production was increasing by 25 percent a year. The components base of our electronics industry has again received priority in resource allocation for the Eighth 5-Year Plan. The projected average annual growth rate for electronics component production is 19 percent. The projection for microelectronic components is 37 percent, while the entire sector is projected to grow at an average annual rate of 10 percent. Even so, there is a shortage of components. This article reviews the reasons for this situation and summarizes the steps that the Federal Ministry of the Electrotechnical Industry [FMET] intends to take to deal with it.

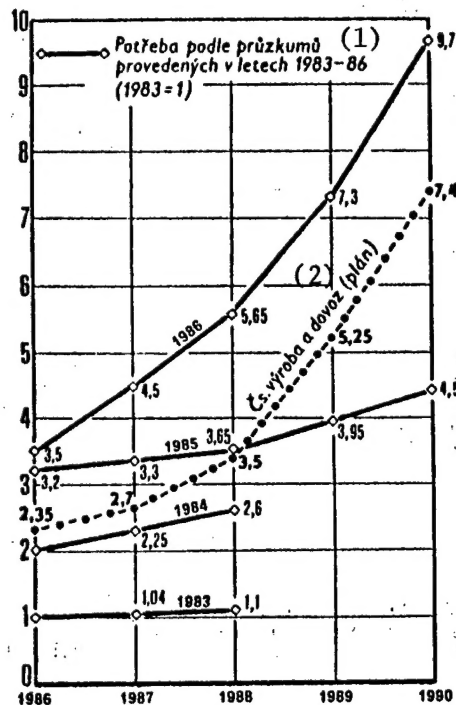
Fully one-third of all the investment resources at the disposal of the electrotechnical industry is being allocated to develop our components base (the products are produced by the Tesla Electronics Components Concern). These resources will fund a set of development objectives aimed at modernizing the existing production base and expanding capital investment. But even this high planned growth rate of component production, innovations in the product line, and participation in the international division of labor with other CEMA countries during the Eighth 5-Year Plan will not allow us to meet fully the demand for either the amount or type of components required by our economy.

## The Current State of Affairs

It is a fact that there is currently a shortage of electronics components. This raises the question of why the electrotechnical industry did not provide, during the Seventh 5-Year Plan, for the requisite development of production facilities to meet domestic demand for the major types of components.

Let us go back to the Seventh 5-Year Plan: In early 1984 there were several types of electronics components, including integrated circuits, in warehouses. Moreover, existing production facilities were underutilized because many of the components could not be sold, mainly because they employed obsolete technology and were too expensive. As long as a 16 kilobit semiconductor store cost Kcs 680, there were lots of them in warehouses. This left Piestany Tesla with millions of korunas in excess inventories. After reducing the price to Kcs 65, these components very quickly went into short supply.

When drafting the Eighth 5-Year Plan our sector researched the need for specific type components. The development of user demand is best shown by the graph below of the results of research on the demand for integrated circuits conducted between 1983 and 1986. This type accounts for a major portion of total component demand, 30 percent in 1986 and a projected 40 percent by 1990.



Results of research on domestic requirements for integrated circuits, conducted between 1983 and 1986, compared to planned increases in Czechoslovak production and imports from socialist countries for the Eighth 5-Year Plan

Key:

1. Demand shown by research 1983-1986
2. Czechoslovak production and imports (planned)

If projected demand for 1986, the first year of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, as estimated by research in 1983, is given a value of 1, then research 1 year later would have yielded a demand figure equal to 2, and 1985 research would have yielded demand estimates greater than the original ones by a factor of 3.2. This clearly reflects the threefold reduction in pricing that took place between 1983 and 1985, during which time the prices of integrated circuits declined the most of all. The same should be true of 1990. Research last year showed demand to be larger than that estimated in 1983 by a factor of 4.5, while this year's figures estimated demand to be greater than original estimates by a figure of 9.7.

Clearly requirements estimates changed rapidly and substantially during the preparation of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. Research in 1985 still showed a positive balance at the end of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, which would have left a reserve.

The graph also shows that we predicted a more rapid increase in requirements than shown by our user research. This situation changed rapidly in a year's time, however, as the graph also indicates. This means that each year we will have to adapt production and imports to rapidly changing requirements at the same time that the product mix itself is undergoing constant innovations. This is an unsolvable task given the inflexible resource supplies for the Eighth 5-Year Plan. It is also clear that resource planning for the electrotechnical industry generally, and its components base in particular, must take place at shorter intervals than 5 years. To sum up then, the current shortage of electronics components is the result of more rapid than anticipated progress in the electronization of our economy, caused in part by new electronics applications and a threefold decrease in the price of components during the past 5-year plan, changes which significantly expanded the pool of potential users.

#### Why a Shortage

If one compares components sources, i.e., Czechoslovak products and imports from socialist countries that were available to us this year, with the demand for them, e.g., integrated circuits, one notices that almost one-third of total demand could not be met. These integrated circuits were needed for final production, however, and therefore had to be procured from nonsocialist countries. In many cases we could manufacture the circuits in question, but our production capacity simply could not keep up with the rapidly increasing demand.

During negotiations of supplier-consumer relations for 1986 it became evident that the increase in demand was very high indeed. For instance, 1986 demand for 16 kilobit semiconductor, dynamic store, random access memory [RAM] was greater than 1985 demand by a factor of 3.8. The figure for 1 kilobit complementary metal-oxide semiconductor [CMOS] RAM was 5.8, for 8 kilobit programmable memory 4, and for integrated circuits for electronic keyboards 8.5.

The situation was similar for other components as well. Demand in 1986 for light emitting diodes was 9 times the demand in 1985, that for FRB type connectors 7.8 times as great, and that for low-output transistors 1.5-1.8 times as great. Not surprisingly then supplier-consumer contracts were not negotiated smoothly. We also know, however, that often firms order more than they need. For instance, if an organization needs 10,000 integrated circuits of a particular type it will order 15,000 because it expects that its order will be short shipped. Firms can order integrated circuits, since there is a shortage, both from the Tesla Electronics Components Concern and imported circuits (from socialist countries) from the Tesla Eltos Contract-Engineering Plant. One of them will certainly come through. This means that adding up all orders does not give a realistic picture of actual national requirements.

Put another way, if there were really a critical shortage of components it would not be possible to purchase several types of integrated circuits at branch sales outlets for Klenoty and Tesla Eltos. These supplies come from excess inventories of socialist organizations, and are not poor quality or rejected products.

The connector situation this year was also unfavorable. Price reductions were sharply felt here. The highest quality, but most work-intensive connectors were made less expensive in price restructurings than the simpler types. The result is that now these higher quality connectors are being used in instruments that belong more to consumer electronics than electronic capital equipment. We need to deal with this mixup in a more immediate way than waiting for the next price restructuring or change in relative prices.

#### Product Mix and Quality

The largest user of electronics components in the CSSR is the Bratislava Tesla Consumer Electronics Plant, which consumes 45 percent of domestic component production. The mass production of televisions, radio receivers and other consumer electronics products is an important task for our sector. For this reason the problems with supplier-consumer relations had an especially large impact on the Tesla Consumer Electronic VHJ. Another large user mainly of integrated circuits is the Automation and Computer Technology Plants Concern, which accounts for 16 percent of domestic production and uses almost all our imported components. This organization also has a component supply problem.

To get an idea of the requisite integrated circuit product line, bear in mind that our users currently need more than 760 types of integrated circuits to produce the electronics products and equipment in our product line. The catalog of the Tesla Electronics Components Concern contains 430 types of analog and digital integrated circuits (including some models that have variations with differing climatic and mechanical resistances). Under specialization programs we import some 60 of these types from Poland and the GDR. This means that domestic producers provide 370 types, a large product line. An additional 330 types or more are imported as commercial goods from the USSR, with small quantities also coming from Romania and Bulgaria.

An important and closely monitored feature of components is their reliability. Components produced by the Tesla Electronic Components Concern have a defined experimental failure intensity value,  $\lambda$ . Some 95 percent of integrated circuit production falls in a category with  $\lambda = 10^{-4}$  hours. Supplementary categorization which can be performed on only 5 percent of total integrated circuit production because of limitations to the test equipment, yields an experimental failure intensity one order of magnitude better, i.e.,  $\lambda = 10^{-5}$  hours.

Practice has shown, however, that some semiconductor components and integrated circuits have significantly lower reliability than is warranted for them. These have included integrated circuits for sensor dialing in televisions, thyristors in television scanning circuits, integrated power amplifiers and electroluminescent diodes. In these instances we have had to intervene in the production process and even modify the circuit design, but in all cases reliability increased. Some problems occurred as well in certain types of condensers and resistors.

We must realize, however, that component producers work with thousands of materials and semifinished goods. They also have supply problems and are sometimes forced, to keep production flowing, to substitute other, lower quality materials. This requires a permit for a technical deviation, or for deviation from a Czechoslovak State Standard of input control. The record in the Seventh 5-Year Plan was not encouraging. In the production of passive components, for instance, three times as many deviation permits were issued in 1985 than in 1981. Even so, we were able to keep losses due to poor quality products in 1983 at 0.72 percent of production volume, and to 0.53 percent in 1985. Quality problems with imported components have not yet been resolved.

#### Development Objectives

Achieving the planned growth rates for electronic component production (19 percent) and microelectronic component production (37 percent) during the Eighth 5-Year Plan depends on other sectors also meeting their growth targets. For integrated circuits, the field with the highest growth rate, investment resources are devoted mainly to rebuilding and modernizing involving a minimum of construction work, so that projects can be completed in 1-1.5 years. This is the only way that we can get more production capacity on line by the end of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. Even so we will need to exert exceptional discipline to get these facilities operating by this time.

Investment resources will also be devoted to developing other fields within the components base. It now appears that planned investments in intensifying and expanding production capacity for passive and discrete semiconductor components will result by the end of the Eighth 5-Year Plan in an approximate equilibrium between domestic resources and demand. The same should be true of vacuum components, mainly color and black and white picture tubes.

There is no way that we will be able to bring domestic supply of integrated circuits in line with demand during this 5-year plan, even though almost half



of all the resources allocated to developing the components base of electronics are used in this area. This situation reflects the increasing pace of electronization of individual sectors of our economy. This is most evident in the finer specifications of national economic requirements and their growth between the beginning and the end of the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

This year organizations in our sector will account for 86 percent of total demand for these products, with other organizations accounting for only 14 percent. By 1990 the situation will be different, with organizations from our sector accounting for 63 percent of total demand, and other organizations the remaining 37 percent. If demand, in other words, is slated to rise by a factor of 2.8 between 1986 and 1990, then demand in our sector will rise by a factor of 2, while that of other sectors will rise by a factor of 7.4.

A similar situation will exist for switching and joining components, especially connectors. The total volume of connector production will increase, but the production of the most reliable and most work-intensive FRB connector will stabilize at runs of about 60 million pairs of contacts each year. Production will increase only of the simpler types. This will not permit us to meet projected demand, based on research this year.

#### Proposed Steps

In line with worldwide developments, the Eighth 5-Year Plan will witness a fundamental innovation in the components base of electronics that will be equivalent to the discovery of the integrated circuits. This will be the gradual introduction of production of certain components for "surface mounting." The surface mounting technique facilitates full automation and further miniaturization. Surface mounting requires one-third to one-fifth the space on a printed circuit board for equivalent amounts of equipment. Products assembled in this way will be more reliable.

The complexity of integrated circuits is also increasing, as are high integration and very high integration circuits as a percentage of total output. Should production of integrated circuits increase by more than a factor of two between now and 1990, in user terms this will represent the equivalent of a four to five fold increase because of the properties of the new circuits. This is because a single more advanced circuit replaces several of a given current type.

With only small exceptions the development of Czechoslovakia's integrated circuit manufacturing capability has been focused on designing circuits equivalent to those of foreign producers. This strategy condemns us to permanent obsolescence. For this reason the Eighth 5-Year Plan projects an increase in the percentage of custom integrated circuits designed for a specific function at a certain junction point in designated equipment, which will not require foreign equivalents.

Worldwide it is estimated that 20 percent of integrated circuit production is custom and that this percentage will increase. We want to achieve similar figures by the end of the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

A major problem of the component base will continue to be product reliability. To address this issue, the Tesla Electronics Components Concern has developed a reliability program based on the international system for categorizing components and assuring quality and reliability according to the conventions of the International Electrotechnical Commission (IEC-Q).

Components will be produced in three reliability categories. The category with the highest guaranteed reliability (test  $\lambda = 10^{-6}$  hours) will be produced with a modified technology and tested with a rigorous classification procedure for completed components. One may expect, however, a substantially higher price for these units than for standard integrated circuits worldwide. These components will have, however, a reliability  $\lambda$  under operating conditions at least two orders of magnitude greater than the test value.

Currently some 45 percent of all integrated circuits are produced domestically. During the current 5-year plan we will take steps to see that the number of types produced not only does not increase, but actually declines. This is feasible only if we increase our integration into the international division of labor and production specialization within the CEMA. Even now we need integrated circuits from other CEMA countries to produce the main items in our lines of consumer and capital electronics equipment.

One example of this division of labor is a current arrangement under which we export 2.5 million packages of integrated circuits for color decoders to the USSR, where they are used in televisions, and import hundreds of thousands of 16 and 64 kilobit semiconductor stores from the same country. Likewise, we export hundreds of thousands of integrated circuits to the GDR in exchange for others that are listed in the Tesla Electronics Components catalog as commonly available models.

It should be mentioned that we still have considerable potential in this area and that we are not satisfied with the current state of affairs. To remedy this situation the volume of specialized production and mutual exchanges of components will be increased during the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

The current shortage of electronics components is causing problems for users, and prospects for 1987 indicate that tension in supplier-consumer relations will continue for some time yet. What, then, is a feasible resolution of this situation? While we will not be able to eliminate the discrepancy between supply and demand over the short term, we can minimize its negative impact. Currently production capacity is being increased for the types of integrated circuits most in demand by increasing the number of shifts in some cases to uninterrupted operations, improved yield from production runs, and the accelerated upgrading of facilities with selected pieces of production and measurement equipment.

Development objectives will begin to be realized in the second half of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, production capacity will further increase, and imbalances will continue to exist only for integrated circuits and connectors. Within

the electrotechnical sector production will be transferred of some components and products from Tesla Electronic Components to other VHJ. This will free up space and workers to increase output of the most sought after components. The Prague Automation and Computer Technology Plant VHJ and the Tesla Consumer Electronics VHJ from Bratislava have offered to assist in this effort. Component demand will be ascertained with greater accuracy and deliveries will go mainly to the priority production programs, i.e., computers and automation equipment designated for use in the engineering sector, in capital and consumer electronics.

Users are also expected to maintain discipline and order in their operations. This means submitting orders on time to cover actual needs in terms of number and type, and not to change these orders significantly during the course of the year.

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## VARIATIONS IN FOOD CONSUMPTION BY INCOME, SOCIAL GROUPS

Warsaw WIES WSPOLCZESNA in Polish No 7, Jul 86 pp 51-58

[Article by Eulalia Skawska: "Structural Variations in Food Consumption Patterns"]

[Text] The basic source of information on variation in food consumption by social groups is the research by the Central Office of Statistics on household budgets. From this research we can show the major factors causing variation in food consumption are: membership in a socio-occupational group, number of family members, and the income per family member.

Before 1981 retiree and pensioner families enjoyed the best level of consumption. These families consumed the most calories, total protein, and animal protein.

In 1982 the consumption levels of the various socio-occupational groups changed. These changes continued through 1983 and 1984. Then farm families consumed the most food per capita, and retiree and pensioner families the second most. Farmer-worker families were third, and worker families were last. These changes took place within an absolute decline in food consumption in all types of households. In farmer and farmer-worker families, consumption declined relatively less because their self-produced food supply increased.

The decline in food consumption was accompanied by an increase in the proportion of personal income spent on food.(1) Expenditures for food in households from all socio-occupational and income groups increased because of the decline in real incomes.(2)

The proportion spent on food in the total expenditures shows a strong relationship with income. According to data from the Central Office of Statistics, individuals with the highest incomes spend nearly twice as much for food as those with the lowest incomes. However, the proportion spent on food in the highest group is significantly lower than in the lowest income group (see table 1). The wealthiest group not only spent more on food, but they consumed more. This applies both to animal products (meat products, butter, sour cream, etc.) and to vegetable products (grain products and potatoes).

Table 2 shows the difference in the consumption in worker families by income group. Worker families in the highest per capita income group consumed an average of 93.2 percent more in 1965 and 66.5 percent more than the poorest families in 1984. Across the entire period the difference decreased only 26.7 percent in favor of the poorest families. At the same time, the disproportion in the consumption of fats, potatoes, fish, milk, and grain products increased.

Table 1. Average Monthly Expenditures in Households by Income Group for 1984

Category	Total	5000 ?	5001- 6000	6001- 7000	7001- 8000	8001- 10,000	10,001- 12,000	12,000- 14,000	14,001 ?
<b>Worker Households</b>									
Food Consumption in Zloty	4100	2935	3248	3470	3715	3971	4413	4867	5583
Food Consumption as Percent of Total Expenditures	42.82	52.56	51.15	48.47	46.67	44.17	41.73	40.64	35.13
<b>Farmer-Worker Households</b>									
Food Consumption in Zloty	3911	2847	3107	3244	3543	3751	4286	4623	5249
Food Consumption as Percent of Total Expenditures	45.66	51.93	50.98	48.48	49.00	47.39	45.23	44.69	39.16
<b>Farm Households</b>									
Food Consumption in Zloty	4385	3526	3650	3838	4129	4257	4846	4894	5757
Food Consumption as Percent of Total Expenditures	44.46	48.22	51.22	54.60	47.55	46.64	44.79	40.71	37.71
<b>Retiree and Pensioner Households</b>									
Food Consumption in Zloty	4609	3379	3971	4287	4690	4988	5597	5978	6439
Food Consumption as Percent of Total Expenditures	52.86	53.85	57.99	58.15	55.12	53.32	49.80	47.47	40.83

Source: Statistical Yearbook 1985 Central Office of Statistics, pp 136-38 and own calculations

Table 2. Consumption of Food Products in Worker Families in the Highest Per Capita Income Groups (Consumption for the Poorest Families = 100 percent)

<u>Category</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1984</u>
Grain Products	97.2	105.2	93.4	109.5	118.2
Milk and Liquid Milk Products	127.6	135.3	124.6	116.5	129.2
Cheese	190.5	104.1	218.0	154.4	171.4
Eggs	231.2	253.4	187.9	201.1	181.3
Meat and Meat Products	228.0	240.9	195.1	191.0	168.5
Fish and Fish Products	225.0	230.6	161.4	154.7	266.7
Butter	373.0	353.3	236.4	175.0	133.3
Fats	87.0	93.3	94.6	123.2	160.0
Potatoes	80.4	89.9	100.2	121.3	137.7
Legumes, Mushrooms, and Associated Products	138.2	174.8	188.1	204.1	197.2
Fruits and Fruit Products	359.0	378.2	301.5	295.7	223.8
Sugar	181.1	152.8	118.0	118.0	110.5

In calculating the physical units, the following conversion factors were adopted: bread, 0.74 kg; remaining grain products, 1.0 kg; milk 1.0 l; sour cream, 7.0.

Source: statistical yearbooks of the Central Office of Statistics for 1966 (p 521), 1971 (p 578), 1981 (p 137), and 1985 (p 140) and my own calculations.

In the 1960's and the first half of the 1970's some groups of products were consumed in greater quantities by families in the lowest per capita income group. This applies to grain products, fats, and potatoes. In recent years the wealthiest families have consumed more of all food products, reducing their differences compared to the poorest families. Sugar consumption is the most equal, largely due to rationing.

Table compares consumption of food products in farmer, farmer-worker, and retiree and pensioner families in the highest income group with that in the lowest.

In farmer families the difference in consumption between the two extreme income groups was 46.2 percent in 1984. It has decreased 22 percent since 1975. During this period the difference in the consumption of cheese, grain products, and potatoes increased. The differences in the consumption of the remaining products decreased in favor of the poorest families. The greatest differences occur in consumption of meat and fruits, and the smallest, in the consumption of potatoes.

The wealthiest farmer-worker families consumed 105.8 percent more food products in 1975 and 70.7 percent more in 1984 than families in the lowest income group. However, in 11 of the food product groups, equal quantities were consumed.

The data show that there has been a systematic decrease between the differences in the levels of consumption of these income groups, as a result of more

Table 3. Per Capita Food Consumption in Farmer, Farmer-Worker, Retiree and Pensioner Families in the Highest Income Group (Consumption of the Lowest Income Families = 100 percent)

Category	Farmers			Farmer-Workers			Retirees & Pensioners		
	1975	1980	1984	1975	1980	1984	1975	1980	1984
Grain Products	123.5	124.5	128.1	130.2	127.5	127.4	84.2	103.8	109.2
Milk	144.0	138.4	128.7	142.9	132.3	147.2	115.0	114.9	120.6
Cheese	126.8	135.9	144.4	176.7	132.0	162.5	153.2	126.3	150.0
Eggs	180.6	171.3	150.8	210.0	182.6	176.5	161.0	162.7	163.3
Meat and Meat Products	223.8	197.7	172.7	267.9	230.5	203.0	133.8	165.7	151.2
Fish and Fish Products	233.3	151.3	166.7	310.0	219.4	250.0	110.6	150.0	200.0
Butter	158.7	161.1	140.2	231.6	150.8	175.0	188.9	152.3	133.3
Fats	152.0	157.8	144.4	154.5	151.0	150.0	74.1	121.4	128.6
Potatoes	112.7	110.1	118.5	128.9	117.3	113.0	73.1	103.6	141.6
Legumes, Mushrooms, and Associated Products	169.7	177.2	154.0	217.0	155.7	248.7	135.3	146.2	189.8
Fruits and fruit Products	233.8	207.4	172.0	336.7	215.3	221.1	278.5	239.9	253.9
Sugar	158.7	126.5	133.3	164.3	124.1	120.2	125.8	118.5	115.0

Source: My own calculations from Central Office of Statistics data, statistical yearbooks for 1976 (p 94), 1981 (p 137), and 1985 (p 141).

rational eating habits among both the wealthiest and the poorest families. This appears as an increase in consumption of grain products and potatoes among the poorest families. Food policy has had significant influence.

Only the poorest retiree and pensioner families show pauperization. While in 1975 they consumed equal quantities of food stuffs, in 1984 the difference between the wealthiest families and the poorest families was 54.7 percent.

In conclusion, the highest consumption (except for fish, vegetables, and fruits) occurs among the wealthiest farmer families; the least, among worker families (except for fish and butter).

The influence of the income group in the various types of families is extremely clear in the analysis of caloric consumption and nutrition. The data show that worker families in the lowest per capita income group consume the least calories and that the wealthiest farmer families consume the most.

The wealthiest families exceed the energy requirement of the standards for economic levels B and C (3) and the practical standards set by the Commission for Nutrition Standards and Evaluation of the Polish Academy of Sciences. The value of the energy and the nutritive ingredients in a diet according to these practical standards, given the age structure adopted by the Central Office of Statistics for 1980 is: caloric value, 2,700 kcal, nutritive value, 72 g protein, 86 g fat, and 409.5 g carbohydrates.(4)

Table 4. Daily Calorie Consumption Per Capita in Four Types of Families in Two Extreme Income Groups (in kcal)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Workers</u>		<u>Farmers-Workers</u>		<u>Farmers</u>		<u>Retirees and Pensioners</u>	
	<u>Group 1</u>	<u>Group 2</u>	<u>Group 1</u>	<u>Group 2</u>	<u>Group 1</u>	<u>Group 2</u>	<u>Group 1</u>	<u>Group 2</u>
1965	2243	2992						
1970	2094	2967						
1975	2363	3273	2463	3968	2816	4169	2940	3428
1980	2378	3537	2457	3610	2665	3827	2875	3864
1984	2375	3197	2503	3507	2821	3681	2725	3489

Group 1--families in the lowest income group

Group 2--families in the highest income group

Source: my own calculations from data from the Central Office of Statistics;  
1 kcal = 4.184 kJ.

Families in the lowest income group fall below the standards for economic level B. Only farmer and retirees and pensioners families reach the level set by the practical consumption standards of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Among worker families only 88 percent reach the level of the practical standards, and among farmer-worker families, 92 percent.

The comparative analysis shows that the economic deterioration has affected the decline in consumption expressed in calories in all types of families in the



highest income group and retiree and pensioner families in the lowest income group which had a high caloric intake. The food policy created instruments preventing a decline in the calorie consumption in the lowest income groups belonging to the other socio-occupational groups.

Protein consumption is subdivided into plant protein and animal protein consumption. Before 1980 protein consumption was increasing except among farmer and farmer-worker families in the highest income groups. After 1980 protein consumption rose only in farmer and farmer-worker families in the lowest income groups. Families in the highest income groups reached and even exceed the protein requirements set by the standards for economic level C. The poorest families, however, did not reach the consumption standards for economic level B (with the exception of farmer families and retiree and pensioner families).

Families in the highest income group consumed so much protein in relation to the level set by the practical standards of the Polish Academy of Sciences that they exceeded the biological requirements. However, the poorest worker and farmer-worker families did not reach the level set by these standards. Protein consumption in worker families reached 80.6 percent of the practical standards in 1975 and 87.5 percent in 1984. The fact that protein consumption significantly exceeded biological requirements in the highest income group and that it fell short in the diet of the poorest worker and farmer-worker families shows that protein consumption in Polish society is irrational.

In light of nutrition studies it is essential to reduce the consumption of fats, especially animal fats. In 1984 annual fat consumption per capita was: in worker families in the lowest income group, 2.4 kg; plant fats, 3.6 kg; in worker families in the highest income group, 4.8 and 3.6 kg; in farmer-worker families in the lowest income group, 3.6 and 6.0 kg; in farmer-worker families in the highest income group, 6.0 and 8.4 kg; in farmer families in the lowest income group, 3.6 and 7.0 kg; in farmer families in the highest income group, 6.0 and 9.6 kg; in retiree and pensioner families in the lowest income group, 4.8 and 3.6 kg; in retiree and pensioner families in the highest income group, 7.2 and 3.6 kg.

In Poland, animal fat consumption greatly exceeds the consumption of plant fats. For the entire period under analysis, only the wealthiest retiree and pensioner families consumed more plant than animal fats, and in 1975 and 1984 worker families also consumed more plant than animal fats. The wealthiest farmer families consumed 60 percent more animal fats than plant fats in 1984. The proportion of animal fats is still higher in families in the lowest income group except for retirees and pensioners. Farmer families consumed twice as much animal fat as plant fat in 1984.

According to the ideal consumption pattern, no more than 30 percent of the daily energy requirements should come from fats. Caloric intake from fats exceeding 30-35 percent of the total caloric intake is considered a major cause of the diseases of civilization.(5) As we have observed, the proportion of fats in caloric intake exceeds 30 percent in eight family groups. In recent years this proportion has slowly declined.

Carbohydrates, which are contained in the largest quantities in sugar and grain products are the major energy source. According to nutrition science grain products should provide 58 percent of the energy and sugar not more than 10 percent. Among grain products, bread from coarse milled grains and large groats is recommended because they contain fiber that regulates the digestive tract. The data in Table 5 show that in families in the highest income group the proportion of carbohydrates for energy is about 50 percent; however, in families in the lowest income groups it ranges from 60 percent in farmer-worker families to 56 percent in retiree and pensioner families. Thus, for high income families the discussed index does not match the ideal pattern.

Table 5. The Proportion of Nutritive Elements in Providing Energy For Types of Families in the Two Extreme Income Groups for 1975, 1980, and 1983 (in percent)

Year	Category	Worker		Farmer-Worker		Farmer		Retiree and Pensioner	
		I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II
1975	Protein	9.8	11.2	10.3	10.8	10.3	10.5	10.2	10.8
	Fats	32.8	39.9	29.6	35.6	30.0	35.4	34.0	37.3
	Carbohydrates	57.4	48.9	60.1	53.6	59.5	54.1	55.8	51.9
1980	Protein	10.8	11.1	10.4	11.5	10.6	11.1	10.6	11.5
	Fats	35.2	41.2	31.5	37.6	33.4	39.5	37.6	41.5
	Carbohydrates	54.0	47.7	58.1	50.9	56.0	49.4	51.8	47.0
1984	Protein	10.6	11.4	10.6	11.3	10.8	11.2	11.1	11.7
	Fats	34.2	37.7	31.0	37.2	33.9	37.9	33.6	36.1
	Carbohydrates	55.2	50.9	58.4	51.5	55.3	50.9	55.2	52.2

Group I--families in the lowest income groups

Group II--families in the highest income group

Source: Based on data from the Central Office of Statistics, statistical yearbooks for 1976 (p 97), 1981 (p 141), and 1985 (p 144).

The proportion of sugar in caloric intake is decreasing; however, in 1975 it was higher in all family groups than the minimum set by the ideal pattern. After introduction of sugar rationing its share in energy consumption decreased.

In general the structure of the consumption of nutritive components in all types of families does not match the ideal pattern for nutritive components in energy creation.

This study of the structural differentiation of consumption leads to the following conclusions:

1. The differences in the quantitative consumption of food in income groups during recent years has decreased with the exception of retiree and pensioner families, in which the differences between the extreme income groups have increased. Since retirements and pensions have increased more slowly than wages, the discussed groups in the lowest income groups have not been able to enrich the structure of their consumption.

2. Both quantitative and qualitative shortcomings remain in the food consumption of the poorest families.

3. The level of energy consumption and nutritive components in the studied income groups shows an irrational model of food consumption exists; in the wealthiest families calorie consumption exceeds the biological requirement and protein and fat consumption exceeds the standards set by the nutrition standards.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. In current prices. Calculated from data in the statistical yearbooks of the Central Office of Statistics for 1981 (p 120) and 1985 (p 125).

2. See the statistical annuals for 1981 (pp 132-34) and 1985 (pp 136-38).

3. See A Szczygiel, J. Siczakowa, L. Nowicka, "Nutrition Standards for 18 Groups of People," 3d ed., Warsaw 1970; Decree of the Minister of Health and Social Welfare of 24 July 1974 DZIENNIK URZEDOWY MINISTERSTWA ZDROWIA I OPIEKI SPOLECZNEJ, No 16, item 69.

4. My own calculations from data in the Statistical Yearbook 1981, Central Office of Statistics, p 95 and the collected volume edited by A. Pronczuk, "Nutrition Standards for the People of Poland," Vol 1, "Energy, Protein, Fat," pp 41-42, Warsaw 1984.

5. W. B. Szostak, "Scientific Foundations of Rational Eating Habits," ZYWIENIE CZLOWIEKA No 7/1980 and the collected volume edited by A. Pronczuk, "Standards," op. cit. p 37.

13021/12859

CSO: 2600/31

## BRIEFS

BANKRUPT FARM UNITS--The Food Economy Bank estimates that at the end of last year 106 state farms and 179 agricultural producer cooperatives were losing their credit worthiness. Eight state farms and 21 agricultural producer cooperatives were refused further credits. The remaining farms and cooperatives continued to receive credits on the strength of their programs for rehabilitating their economic managements, programs submitted to the bank. At the same time, 23 state farms were taken over by commissaries. The number of such farms increased to 32 in January and February of this year. [Excerpt] [Warsaw RZECZPOPSOLITA in Polish 9 Mar 87 p 1 AU] /12232

CSO: 2600/480

## PENTAGON SAID TO SUBSIDIZE DEVELOPMENT OF LETHAL VIRUSES

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 4 Mar 87 p. 2

[Article by Ognyan Pishev, candidate of economic sciences: "Biotechnology in Service of Imperialism's Military Machine--In Hands of Pentagon Science of Life Creates Deadly Weapons"]

[Text] The present stage of the scientific and technical revolution recognizes biotechnology as one of its key lines of inquiry. Its essence is most frequently defined as "putting biological actions to use in the context of technical progress and industrial production." Under conditions of the capitalist economy this means, first and foremost, employing biological processes for the production of goods and the rendering of services, and hence for the derivation of profits.

Technological breakthroughs in biotechnologies most often involve the springing up of small high-tech companies with skilled personnel, whose scientific potential attracts private capital investment and research assignments on specific problems. Recently it has become clear that the U.S. Department of Defense has likewise begun to need the services of genetic engineering and other progressive methods.

The Pentagon's declared interests are "focused solely on preventing the outbreak of diseases and on the development of means and methods that will ensure the survival and intact efficiency of military personnel and equipment in a battle environment." Medical applications encompass the new techniques of diagnostics, the study of diseases and new methods of treating them. Uses indicated in other areas are to clean the hulls of battleships and to create hypersensitive detectors and special-purpose materials.

The initially appropriated sums have been very modest--\$6 million in the 1982 fiscal year, \$7.5 million and \$12 million in 1983-1984. In 1986, however, \$42 million by now was channeled into the financing of 57 research projects. The sharp increase in funds is a visible signal of the Pentagon's increased interest in military applications of biotechnologies. The coordinator of the work performed is the American Army Command for Medical Scientific Research and Development Activity. The army is gradually becoming one of the key sources of funding in the genetics of infectious diseases and in toxins from anthrax to snake venom.

There are two basic lines of scientific research and development activity: first, the financing of private companies and universities to conduct specific research and, second, attempts to revive the activity of the closed-down testing center for biological agents at the army's proving ground at Dugway in the State of Utah.

Especially alarming is the trend of private business and universities to cooperate with the Pentagon and constitute a kind of biotechnological appendage of the military-industrial complex. Among the private corporations that have received gratuitous funding from the Pentagon are the research center of General Electric and the laboratories of Martin Marietta--famed members of the military-industrial complex. What is especially impressive, however, is the use of small high-tech companies like Molecular Genetics and Syntro. The contracts worth \$1.7 million, concluded with Molecular Genetics, have to do with a genetic engineering technology that is to make possible the cloning (asexual conception) of a rapidly multiplying hybrid of the microbe inducing tropical fever (a fever virus from the Rift Valley in tropical Africa).

The elite of American science are accepting the Pentagon's bribes to create new deadly viruses. At the University of Kansas researchers are working on the cloning of another exotic killer--dengue. In all, 24 universities, including the California and the Massachusetts Institutes of Technology, Purdue University, Texas A. and M. and many others are carrying on research programs. They have been joined by private institutions such as Aguron Institute and the Weizmann Institute (Israel), the Environmental Research Council (England), the Scripps Clinic, etc.

The wide-scale research program launched under the Pentagon's aegis in fact violates the existing international agreements.

As early as the end of the 1960's President Nixon by a law banned the waging of biological war and ordered the American arsenal of biological weapons to be abolished. In 1972 an international convention was concluded which the United States ratified in 1975. Today the Pentagon is renewing its interest in biological agents on the sly. Although implementation of plans for establishing a new biological laboratory at Dugway still has not started, the sum of \$8.4 million has been appropriated for it.

The reestablished testing center is to include an airtight chamber for testing highly toxic biological agents like anthrax, tularemia, Q fever and mycotoxins, known as "yellow rain." One of the reasons for the delay is related to the protests to which the Pentagon's plans have given rise. Therefore, the pros and cons are of definite interest. There are active opponents of American military biological programs not only in scientific circles, but also among environmental protectionists. Critically minded scientists collected 4000 signatures to a petition for halting the military research. According to them, the Pentagon with its subsidies gives an undesired direction to scientific work and distorts its priorities, diverting it from the humane problems of medicine and biology. They do not agree that the experiments and programs that have been initiated are conceivable as defensive, because they can result in new types of biological weapons.

There are two organizations that are directing their efforts towards combating the militaristic plans: the Committee on the Military Use of Biological Research, Boston, is organizing the collective refusal of scientists to participate in the Pentagon's programs. Parallel with this, the Foundation on Economic Trends, which in principle is opposed to genetic engineering, at the beginning of September 1986 instituted proceedings in the Washington District Court to halt the Pentagon's developments. In 1985 the same organization through judicial channels halted implementation of the plans for the Dugway laboratory. By order of the court the army must submit an estimate of the possible impact on the environment of the biological weapons tests.

The opponents of aerosol tests in the projected chamber believe that it is a step towards the creation of offensive weapons although according to official information only defensive equipment will be tested in it. The scientists who at the end of 1985 signed the protest against the Dugway laboratory declared that they oppose "any action that threatens to provoke a biological arms race."

The Pentagon's reasoning seeks to suggest that the matter at issue is purely defensive research. Thomas Welch, Caspar Weinberger's adviser on chemical and biological warfare, asserts, "It is imprudent to go into combat nowadays unless you have a defense system." In August 1986 Douglas (Feyt) [possibly Feith], deputy assistant secretary of state for negotiations, stated to the Congressional Committee on Intelligence Services that progress in genetic engineering makes possible the production of "new and better biological weapons."

D. (Feyt) is a member of the international group that monitors compliance with the 1972 Geneva Convention banning experiments for the "creation, production, storage or acquisition and safekeeping of biological weapons." And his statements that scientific achievements make the convention "inadequate and inapplicable" express the common reservations of the American administration towards international agreements. According to D. (Feyt), biological agents suitable for military needs can be produced in mass quantities in a few weeks. The attacking country can immunize its troops in advance, which makes the adversary vulnerable.

American governmental officials imagine reserves of vaccine to be an additional means of deterrence. The mythical Soviet threat provided grounds to (Dzheel) [possibly error for Dzhoel, Joel] Dalrymple, chief of the virus biology section at the Army Institute for Infectious Diseases, who oversees the biological research program, for declaring, "We would be negligent if we did not prepare our defense."

There is no clear boundary between defensive and offensive research. In final analysis, it is precisely the advance in genetic engineering that makes impossible an effective defense against biological agents. The number of potential biological agents is "greater than can be quantified," as (DZh.) [G. or J.] King, specialist in molecular biology, emphasizes. In his opinion, the deep pockets of the military change research priorities. "The Department of Defense is organized in line with military priorities; it finances research on viruses that will make the people of North Africa sick rather than the people in North Roxbury."

The Army Command maintains that military research fills a vacuum; otherwise, the Pentagon would be hard put to it to obtain from the private sector the "goods and services" it needs. And (Dzh.) Dalrymple declares forthrightly, "Unless we concern ourselves with this business, nobody will give these problems attention."

The placing of experiments and biotechnologies at the service of the American war machine is one more indication of the all-embracing character of the plans for attaining military supremacy. The new technologies reinforce the technological approach to the problems of international politics, and the need for agreements is replaced by a quest for scientific breakthroughs to ensure qualitative supremacy. More and more scientific, technical and financial resources are being earmarked for this unattainable goal.

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CSO: 2200/70



## BCP PAPER COMMENTS ON REPRIMANDED OFFICIALS

AU180946 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Mar 87 p 2

[Article by Veselka Marinova: "Mercy for Those Who Are Naive"]

[Excerpts] It must have been painful for Engineer Tsoko Nekhrizov, general director of the Sofia "Energy Supply" enterprise, to step over the threshold of the hall in which the session of the State and People's Control Committee was taking place. Before entering the hall he stood for several minutes in front of the door, looking about with embarrassment, searching if not for support at least for some understanding of his guilt. The decision of the State and People's Control Committee however was categorical. It did not denigrate the contribution Engineer Nekhrizov had made over the 14 years he spent in his post. It did not underestimate, or forget the credit earned by this man for the introduction of central heating in our capital, but it did not let his former merits conceal his present guilt.

The meeting was attended by Engineer Nekhrizov, as well as by Krustan Metodiev, director of the Sofi "Toploremonstroy" enterprise, and by Filip Milanov, director of the "Sofstroy" state economic trust. The strange thing is, however, that none of them seems to have understood what happened. To put it mildly, Engineer Nekhrizov was searching for something to justify his own behavior. The strongest argument seemed to be his former contribution to the introduction of central heating in our capital. He even pretended that carried away by the worries about this considerable problem he even was unaware of how...he built his villa. He admitted that shortcomings had been generally committed in the enterprise as regards the use of official automobile transport, but he claimed that the reason for this was the lack of familiarity with the normative documents in question. His assertion that he never intended to derive personal profit--but everything was the result of ignorance and of his excessive confidence in Engineer Krustanov, his deputy--sounded quite false. Even more alarming was that Nekhrizov seemed hardly aware of the moral aspect of his deeds: He addressed a petition to the State and People's Control Committee to reconsider the proposal on his dismissal from the director's post and not to consider it as the only possible solution...

The decision has already been made. It is a fact. However, let us go beyond the decision and think further. Why are those who are guilty described as

naive? Why did they talk about shortcomings, mistakes, and negligence, when there was question of something much more important--a crime at the expense of the state. Yes, it is true that Engineer Nekhrizov is a capable and competent socialist. He has done much for our capital. However, should we not look at the question from another angle--is it not true, that apart from professional qualifications our contemporary leader needs moral virtues and steadfastness? Even if the proposal on the dismissal of the general director had not been accepted--how could he return to his collective and how could he have looked the members of his collective in the eyes, since everything happened in front of them, and often even with the very participation of these people?

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CSO: 2200/76

## BCP CC GREETINGS TO SRI LANKAN CP CONGRESS

AU291741 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Mar 87 p 5

[Text] Colombo, 23 Mar (BCP)--On 23 March Khristo Maleev, member of the BCP Central Committee and secretary of the Commission on Foreign Policy Issues at the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat, read the BCP Central Committee greetings message to the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka.

The Bulgarian Communists, loyal to the international behests of Dimitur Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov, highly value the efforts of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka to create unity of the leftist and democratic forces, and strengthen the antiwar movement in the country. They also value the party's contribution to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism, to halting the arms race, to disarmament, and strengthening peace in Asia and the Indian Ocean region, the message reads. For more than four decades, the Communist Party of Sri Lanka has steadily defended the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and has made a worthy contribution to the struggle of communists throughout the world for peace, democracy, and social progress.

The decisions of the 13th BCP Congress are regarded by the communists and working people of the People's Republic of Bulgaria as the springboard for solving the topical issues related to constructing the developed socialist society. The congress determined the basic trends of the country's material and intellectual development in the next few years and until the end of the century, the message reads.

The BCP and the People's Republic of Bulgaria are making and will make their modest contribution to strengthening world socialism, removing the danger of a nuclear war, and developing the struggle for peace, security, and cooperation in Europe and the world. We attribute special significance to turning the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons. We express our solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America against imperialism and reaction and for national and social liberation, the message notes.

The socialist community opposes the strategy of imperialism, aimed toward tension and the arms race, with its own strategy, aimed at detente, disarmament, democracy, and peace. The Bulgarian communists greet the USSR-Indian declaration, signed in Delhi in November 1986, which reflects the noble principles of a world without nuclear weapons, oppression, hatred, suspicion, and fear, the message reads in conclusion.

## FILIPOV AT SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION

AU231529 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Mar 87 p 6

[Report by Mitko Bozhkov: "Great and Complicated, But Feasible Tasks"]

[Excerpts] A session of the National Assembly's Permanent Commission on Socioeconomic Development was held at the East Hall yesterday. Representatives of other permanent commissions of the National Assembly participated in it.

Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Permanent Commission on Socioeconomic Development, stated the following: "Our new views and approaches are of great importance for the manner in which we will implement our progress and for the peace of this development.

"Each of us as a National Assembly deputy is obliged to do everything within his power for his constituency, so that the necessary change for the better may be implemented there. We are still facing the development of programs for the comprehensive development of the okrugs and settlement systems in the spirit of Comrade Todor Zhivkov's postulate on overcoming so-called territorial feudalism."

The session adopted an addendum to the plan on the commission's activities in 1987. The basic tasks for the period up to the end of the commission's mandate were mapped out. The following initiative of the commission deserves particular attention:

The commission will organize a temporary group which will listen to reports by economic managements, people's councils, and individual citizens on the fulfillment of the 9th 5-Year Plan, on the style and methods of work of economic organizations and associations of the new type, about shortcomings in applying the Code on Economic Activity in connection with finding reserves for the additional production of goods for export and for the domestic market.

Mobile groups will also be organized to be in charge of visiting individual okrugs and of clarifying unresolved problems concerning the plan and the management of enterprises and economic trusts.

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CSO: 2200/76

## LACK OF HIGHLY QUALIFIED SCIENTISTS DEPLORED

AU161217 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Mar 87 p 1

[Editorial: "Highest Professional Qualifications"]

[Text] The experience we have gained in recent years eloquently demonstrates that our cadres are the basic factors in the development of the scientific-technical revolution. It depends on their qualifications, the level of their training, and their skill in using every opportunity whether this factor will act in a positive or in a negative way. It is a well-known fact that in our country the standard of qualification executive cadres with secondary education is unsatisfactory. Unfortunately, this also applies to the quantity and quality of graduates from higher educational institutions. Our country is lagging behind the level achieved in the past as regards the number of students attending higher educational institutions. This negative trend also extends to the highest professional qualification--namely to candidates of sciences.

According to certain data only 3.5 percent of graduates from higher educational institutions continue to improve their training along the path of an academic career. In a number of universities in developed capitalist countries and in the Soviet Union this number is much greater. In addition, in our country a considerable part of the candidates work by correspondence course, or independently, which reflects upon the quality of their training.

It is even more alarming that the shortage is particularly pronounced in priority fields of contemporary scientific-technical progress. Only 15 percent of Bulgarian candidates studying in the Soviet Union, for example, are working in those sectors.

It is difficult to provide a generally valid answer to the question about the reasons for this phenomenon, but an answer must be found.

It is, above all, necessary to accelerate the training process and the processing of candidates' dissertations, to free the candidate from repeating subjects he has already studied, and to intensify the creative element. Along with the narrow specialization, skill in applying scientific methodics to research and production practice must also be mastered. It is necessary, at the same time, to raise the criteria in competition examinations.

The idea that scientific candidacy leads only to scientific institutes has not been overcome. Field of practical application now more than ever needs highly qualified people capable of searching for solutions to production, administrative, or political problems by scientific methods. Despite all this very few scientific candidates can be found among the leading officials in the industrial or agricultural sectors. The economic organizations themselves have not yet become aware of the need to direct young people to scientific candidacies and later to applying their acquired knowledge in practical experience. This is a shortsighted policy which limits the opportunities for future development.

The scientific leadership of candidates is not at the required level either and in many cases it suffers from formalism. It is necessary to think about material incentives for scientific leaders, as well as for candidates who have submitted their dissertations ahead of schedule.

There is no uniform system in our country today able to coordinate on a national level the planning, preparation, and training of candidates and their further scientific careers. In many cases their dissertations remain without practical application and they direct their efforts to other fields.

An instruction on the organization of scientific candidacies is now in the process of being drawn up. It must offer an opportunity of solving considerable part of the problems. All possible situations must be taken into consideration in the course of work. Both previous positive and bitter experience must be used in order to create a solid regulation and a contractual basis for increasing the number of candidates, for improving the quality of their training, and for consolidating scientific candidacy as a third level of qualification.

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CSO: 2200/76

## TURKEY REPORTED PREPARING OFFENSIVE AGAINST KURDS

AU271102 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 20 Mar 87 p 4

[Article by Deldar Zana, "Kurdish journalist": "A 'Spring Offensive' Is Planned This Time"]

[Excerpts] The newspaper KURDISTAN PRESS, which is an edition of the Kudistan News Agency [ANK] [name of paper and agency as published] with headquarters in Sweden published materials on preparations of the Turkish Army for the so-called "spring offensive" against the Kurdish liberation movement.

I think that it will not be very difficult for the Turkish rulers to find an opportunity and a motivation for the "spring offensive." The Turkish Government has always taken advantage of untrue routine accusations against the Kurdish people's liberation movement. It often happens that actions attributed to the freedom fighters have actually been carried out by Turkish policemen, soldiers, and so-called "security forces." There are sufficient facts to prove this.

The Ankara rulers officially announced that special detachments whose members were trained in the United States and in the FRG will be sent to the southeast (Turkish Kurdistan). They are all said to speak Kurdish, and this is reported without any prohibition. At the same time, however, the people of Kurdistan are forbidden to speak their own language and risk arrest and imprisonment if they do so. As you know, the very mention of the existence of the Kurdish people is punished with a prison term of 2 years and 4 months. The specially trained troops, in their statements to the press, declare that in the training camps they were particularly impressed by the precision and actions of the Israeli soldiers. That is not surprising...because the implementors of terror and violence are the same everywhere.

Many governments and international organizations, including the UN Commission on Human Rights, the West German parliament, individual politicians and public figures voiced violent protests in Ankara against the oppression of the most elementary human rights and about the genocide to which the Kurds are subjected. All this did not prevent Turkey from preparing and exerting increasing pressure over this nation. The "spring offensive" will certainly once more confirm this truth.

History has proved on occasions that such actions cannot and will not destroy the faith of the Kurdistan people in their own liberation movement. The path of revolution is difficult and full of obstacles. A movement for justice, freedom, and independence, in overcoming this barrier, precisely proves its right to exist.

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## GREEK AMBASSADOR INTERVIEWED ON NATIONAL DAY

AU250945 Sofia BTA in English 0904 GMT 25 Mar 87

["Bulgaria-Greece: Good-Neighbourly Relations"--BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 25 Mar (BTA)--Nowadays Bulgaria and Greece give an example of relations between states with different political, economic and social systems, says a Greek diplomat in an interview for today's OTECHSTVEN FRONT.

The declaration on friendship, good-neighbourly relations and cooperation signed by the state leaders of the two countries is not directed against the interests of any third country. There is a special article in the document which clears up any doubts in this direction. The declaration is in the principles of the Helsinki Final Act, thinks Dr Ioannis Bourloyannis-Tsangarides, ambassador of the Hellenic Republic to Sofia. The interview, published in the day of the national holiday of Greece, stresses that the Bulgaro-Greek good-neighbourly relations and the constantly developing cooperation contribute considerably to political detente. This declaration was signed by two countries with different social and political systems, members of different military alliances. This initiative of the two countries is an example showing the ways for realization of the aims set in Helsinki, stresses the ambassador.

Dr Ioannis Bourloyannis-Tsangarides notes that the Greek Government is an ardent adherer to the idea for the turning of the Balkans into a zone without nuclear weapons. I think that our positions coincide with the positions of the Bulgarian political leadership, says the ambassador of the Hellenic Republic. He stresses that the unflinching position of Greece is expressed in the decision of Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu to insist on the removal of all nuclear weapons from Greek territory, regardless of the fact whether the idea for Balkans free of nuclear missiles is realized or not.

The national holiday of the Hellenic Republic is marked by almost all papers today.

The dailies publish the cable of greetings sent by Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Georgi Atanasov to Mr Andreas Papandreu.

An editorial material in RABOTNICHESKO DELO reads: "The neighbourship of our two countries has predetermined the close historical ties. Our relations, which have passed through different turns, impose only one conclusion: Only good-neighbourliness, friendship and cooperation are in our mutual interest." The daily carries an article by Vyacheslav Tunev on the artistic work and translator's art of the great Greek poetess Rita Boumi-Papa.

In an article for ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME Prof Dimitur Dimitrov writes about the constantly widening tourist exchange between Bulgaria and Greece. "The more we come to know each other, the more we understand that the past, whatever it has been, remains behind, that the present must be viewed with realism and the future with hope and confidence," writes the author.

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CSO: 2200/76

## TRUD SPECIAL FEATURE ON ALCOHOL ABUSE

AU231528 [Editorial Report] Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian on 20 March 1987 on pages 1 and 2 carries an approximately 8,000-word feature on alcohol abuse entitled "Alternatives Instead of Prohibition." It contains the following articles and commentaries:

A 500-word editorial on page 1 entitled "A Necessary Novelty" maintains that the struggle against alcoholism has been hindered in the past by various "services and quarters, which declared information about alcoholism, in Bulgaria 'secret'." According to the editorial, it was the lack of information that caused complacency among the population. Stressing the need to extend openness (glasnost) to the field of alcoholism, TRUD's editorial points out that most of the material in the paper's feature is based on the results of a study entitled "The City and the Village," conducted at the beginning of 1986.

In a 2,200-word article on pages 1 and 2 entitled "Social Treatment of Social Deviation," Petko Simeonov, candidate of philosophy, cites and analyzes the main findings of a study on drinking habits in Bulgaria. According to this study, Simeonov notes, "About 380,000 people drink daily in Bulgaria, 94.56 percent of them--men." Marriage is an important landmark in the drinking habits of the Bulgarians. "The number of men who drink increases after marriage, while many women begin to consume alcohol during various holidays." Workers comprise the majority of the daily drinkers; "the critical age of the drinkers is 29-38." This is the age group that encompasses most of the daily drinkers. Simeonov points out a number of social factors as being conducive to drinking: "The industrialization and collectivization destroyed many ancient traditions." New traditions have not yet been fully created, and therefore habits that are easy to follow, such as drinking, asserted themselves; no new social habits and customs replaced the ancient Bulgarian customs related to family life and drinking became an easy substitute; personal problems of Bulgarian men; the emancipation of women contributed to their use of alcohol, and so forth. Simeonov cites further results of the study: "35.8 percent of Bulgarians do not consume alcohol; 48.61 percent drink moderately, and only during the holidays; 10.26 percent drink regularly up to three times a week; 4.30 percent drink almost daily, without becoming intoxicated; and 1.02 percent drink daily to total intoxication."

A 300-word article on page 2 by Prof Lyuben Desev, entitled "Psychological Mechanisms of Drinking," analyzes the drinking habits of children. According to Prof Desev 80 percent of the schoolchildren who drink started to drink between the ages of 10 and 16. While in most cases this was the result of "blind copying and imitating," in many cases there were also some psychological reasons, such as the striving for freedom, independence, the need to assert themselves, and so forth."

In a 700-word article on page 2 by Nikolay Vlasakiev entitled "While Waiting in Line," the author describes a scene in a supermarket in Sofia's Emil Markov's street. Those standing in line discuss the lack of soft drinks in Bulgaria, the drinking habits of their respective husbands and wives, and so forth. In conclusion Vlasakiev interview Kiril Shemkov, director of the "Vinprom" Wine Producing Economic Trust, who maintains that "the grape-varieties used for producing light wines have become very rare in Bulgaria."

In an 800-word article on page 2 entitled "The Oases Do Not Hide the Desert" Kalcho Ivanov, analyzes drinking in terms of a favorite pastime. Stressing that "the average citizen does not have a positive attitude to sport," "the obsolete material base prevents mass tourism," while "lack of fish and game prevent mass fishing and hunting," the writer reaches the conclusion that drinking has become the most popular freetime activity. He calls for the adoption of measures "aimed at the wise and full use of citizens' free time."

A 1,200-word "commentary of the editor" on page 2 entitled "Something is Obviously Wrong," draws together the information contained in the other articles. Noting "treating alcoholics is ineffective in Bulgaria," and that "the ratio between registered and unregistered alcoholics is 1:9," the author points out that the Ministry of Public Health does not have sufficient information about the alcoholics in Bulgaria, and that there is an urgent need to reorganize and modernize the institutions treating alcoholics. In conclusion, the author suggests that the importance of sport should be widely emphasized and that sports centers and dance halls be built as alternatives to drinking.

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CSO: 2200/76

## BRIEFS

BULGARIANS LIVING ABROAD--Sofia, 16 Mar (BTA)--The "13 Centuries Bulgaria" Fund will be starting the construction of a special center where Bulgarians living abroad can stay for longer periods of time or even spend the rest of their lives if they are retired. The funds' decision was announced by its director, Mr Tsanko Zhivkov in an interview for VECHERNI NOVINI. According to him this decision was made in response to the desire voiced by a number of Bulgarians living abroad to return to their motherland and find accommodation here. The building will be constructed in Sofia in the outskirts of the Vitosha Mountain. It was designed by Lozan Lozanov, a well-known Bulgarian architect. The "13 Centuries Bulgaria" Fund is using the donations it receives (the donations in money alone amounted to 13.5 million leva last year) for the construction of cultural, sports and public facilities. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 0818 GMT 16 Mar 87 AU] /9599

MEETING WITH ITALIAN CP LEADERS--Rome, 20 Mar (BTA correspondent)--The visiting BCP delegation, led by Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the party's Central Committee, conferred separately with the members of the leadership of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) Mr Paolo Bufalini, Mr Giancarlo Pajetta, and Mr Antonio Rubi. In an atmosphere of sincerity, cordiality and comradeship, they briefed each other on the activities of the two parties and exchanged views on key international issues. An emphasis was laid on the reciprocal desire and readiness for the further promotion and expansion of cooperation between the BCP and the PCI in the struggle for democracy, social progress and lasting world peace. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1848 GMT 20 Mar 87] /9599

STATE INSPECTORATE REPORTS FAULTS--A national conference of the Main Inspectorate for State Technical Control was held today in Sofia at which an accountability report was made on the inspectorate's work in 1986. It was pointed out that during this period the organs of state technical control completed over 16,000 inspections on the quality of design work, the production of construction materials, structures, and components, and the execution of construction and installation works. The data show that due to omissions, errors, and incompleteness of the projects it was necessary to make corrections to 20 percent of construction and installation works which had already been completed. In addition, the application was halted of 314 projects to a total value of almost 124 million leva. Over 900 penalty notices were issued to the executing organizations and investors in respect of

breaches committed in the construction of housing, industrial, and agricultural projects. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 20 Mar 87] /9599

DEPUTY PREMIER DEPARTS FOR NIGERIA--On 22 March Grigor Stoichkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, departed for Nigeria. As chairman of the Bulgarian part of the Bulgarian-Nigerian Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, he will participate in the fourth session of the commission. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 22 Mar 87] /9599

PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION VISITS INDIA--New Delhi, 25 Mar (BTA correspondent)--At the invitation of the Indian Parliament, a Bulgarian parliamentary delegation, headed by Mr Angel Dimitrov, deputy chairman of the National Assembly, paid a visit here between 21 and 25 March. They conferred with an Indian delegation led by Mr Bal Ram Jakhar, speaker of the Lok Sabha (house of the people). The Bulgarian M.P.'s also met with Mr Ramaswamy Venkataraman, vice-president of India. They visited Bombay, where they held talks with the leaders of the city and of the state of Maharashtra, as well as with members of the Indian Parliament and of the State Assembly. At their talks in New Delhi and Bombay, the sides commended highly bilateral cooperation in the fields of politics, economics, science, technology, and culture. The Bulgarian and the Indian parliamentarians shared experience in the activities of the National Assembly and of the Indian Parliament. They laid emphasis on the growing importance of inter-parliamentary ties for the strengthening of understanding between the two countries. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1811 GMT 25 Mar 87] /9599

GREEK AMBASSADOR'S RECEPTION--Ioannis Bourloyannis Tsangarides, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Greece to Bulgaria, gave a reception in Sofia tonight on the occasion of his country's national holiday. The reception was attended by Petur Tanchev, first deputy chairman of the State Council; Ognyan Doynov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Council for Intellectual Development; as well as ministers, deputy ministers, leaders of sociopolitical organizations and religious communities; figures from economic and cultural circles; as well as chiefs and members of diplomatic missions accredited in our country. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 25 Mar 87] /9599

ATANASOV LAYS WREATH, VISITS MUSEUM--Budapest, 26 Mar (MTI)--Thursday morning Bulgarian Prime Minister Georgi Atanasov, currently on a visit to Hungary, laid a wreath on the monument of Hungarian heroes, and visited the Hungarian National Gallery. Accompanied by State Secretary Imre Szabo of industry [as received], Georgi Atanasov saw an exhibition on the latest achievements of Bulgaria in computer engineering. Organized by the Bulgarian Isotimpex foreign trading company, the exhibition presents a wide scale of computer equipment for Hungarian producers and users. Then the Bulgarian prime minister, accompanied by Lorand Bereczky, director of the gallery, saw masterpieces by 19th-century painters Mihaly Munkacsy and Laszlo Paal.

Following, Georgi Atanasov took a walk in the Buda Castle guided by Istvan Stadinger, deputy president of the metropolitan Council. From the fishermen's bastion the prime minister saw the panorama of Budapest and the medieval part of Hotel Hilton. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1309 GMT 26 Mar 87] /9599

DELEGATION DEPARTS FOR VIENNA--A BCP delegation led by Comrade Stoyan Mikhaylov departed on 26 March for Vienna. At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Austrian Communist Party the delegation will take part in the 26th Congress of the Austrian Communist Party. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 26 Mar 87] /9599

TRADE UNION PLENUM--Sofia, 26 Mar (BTA)--The concept of restructuring the Bulgarian Trade Unions, the draft report to their 10th Congress, due to open on 7 April, and the draft of the new Trade Union Statutes were discussed today at a plenum of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, chaired by its president Mr Petur Dyulgerov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP. The plenum decided to submit these documents, as well as a report on a reform in trade union work, for consideration to the forthcoming supreme trade union forum. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1651 GMT 26 Mar 87] /9599

SUMMER TIME STARTS ON 29 MARCH--Sofia, 27 Mar (BTA)--This year Bulgaria will switch over to summer time on 29 March, Sunday, at 0000 hours. All clocks will be put 1 hour ahead of astronomical time. Bulgaria will return to astronomical time on 26 September, Saturday, at 2400 hours. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1153 GMT 27 Mar 87] /9599

EARTHQUAKE REGISTERED--Sofia, 29 Mar (BTA)--The Geophysical Institute of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences reported that an earthquake was registered today at 07.10 am local time with an epicentre about 180 km southeast of Sofia. The earthquake was felt in the region of the towns of Chirpan and Purvomay with an intensity of 3-4 degrees in the 12-degree scale of Medvedev-Sponheuer-Karnik. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1514 GMT 29 Mar 87] /9599

CSO: 2200/76

## CAUTIOUS REGARD FOR HISTORY COUNSELED

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Feb 87 p 1

[Editorial: "Lessons of History"]

[Excerpts] If we begin our reflection with a search for correlations between history, historical experience and the current dynamic social breakthrough with its dominant strategy of an accelerated socioeconomic development, we realize that quite a few readers may be bothered by doubts. Is it at all necessary, helpful and even desirable to turn again to history? What can such reviews of the past promise? What can we expect from them? After all, our time compels us to look forward, to get rid of the "veneer" of the past, and to advance ahead even of the present time... What sense can there be in discussing the possibility and the necessity of learning from history? Can we today still regard history as a teacher of life, or has this view gradually but irreversibly lost its relevance and validity?

We may use an argument from history itself to answer those who express these and similar objections and doubts. Whenever mankind stood at the crossroads of history, it invariably viewed its future from the perspective of history. It turned to history to seek in it knowledge and assurance; in other words, when the society-wide development flowed gently and peacefully, people would turn more attention to themselves, to the present which was free of care.

On the other hand, whenever people needed to reorient the development of society and when many thus far unshakable values appeared uncertain and relative, such times of change were characterized by a dialogue with history and by the application of lessons of history.

The history of our own nation and of mankind as a whole has an existential effect on everyone. Despite its progress, history has preserved many values created by mankind. It has its meaning beyond any individual and beyond time. Therefore, this or that interpretation of history -- of something that allegedly had "happened" before and "that may or may not be relevant" -- is by the same token and interpretation of our times, an instruction, or at least, a motivation for a specific interpretation. With that in mind, we must recognize the inevitability of learning from history.

How should we learn from history? Above all, its study should be completely free of any historicizing conservatism and backsliding propped up or leaning



upon simplistic historical analogies. It must be free of nostalgia and sentimental interpretations of the past, and thus, of aspects that as a rule are not dangerous or harmful to society and that may even appear as a certain form or type of an acceptable folklore, but only if they do not become a "source" -- and let us remind ourselves how often this word has cropped up in all kinds of publications about the meaning of history -- as a fact and argument for the preservation of something that had been tested and proven good, that had produced fine results, and that had served well many generations--naturally, those that preceded us...

Although these methods have been tested and approved hundreds of times, they cannot be automatically transplanted into new circumstances and correlations. Let us confess how many times have we used the so called historical arguments in the current situation, when we are seeking new methods and approaches? How many times have we looked askance at something that "used to be just fine" not one or two but often 30 or 40 years ago? How often have we dusted off these "newfangled" antiques and presented them as new, fashionable or at least updated...

One thing must be made clear: we neither deny nor doubt that we may -- and in fact, that we urgently need to -- learn from history, to derive wisdom from it, and to respect the humane socialist norms, values and revolutionary traditions. We must learn from the revolutionary struggle of the workers' class and of its vanguard -- the communist party; we must adopt lessons of history of those struggles, develop friendship and cooperation with the country of the Soviets, and learn from the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

When looking at the historical process, we cannot ignore its creative force -- involved people. The founder of the scientific social theory, Karl Marx, often stressed that it is precisely human involvement that is at the heart of the historical process: "History can do nothing; it does not have any enormous values; it does not wage any struggles. Man, a real human being, does that and fights for that..." Let us put this Marx' idea in the context of the so often emphasized role of the subjective factor in the process of implementing the program of acceleration. We hear quite frequently views that at the beginning of the building of the socialist society people were full of enthusiasm, bursting with initiative, and often worked independently, with nothing more than spades and pickaxes, without any experience or instruction, and yet they could achieve genuine miracles.

If we compare this lesson from history with our times, we realize that the extent to which human initiative has developed is not equal to the challenges of our days. We may note that many people lack independence and inner motivation. There are various explanations for that, some of which blame a lukewarm attitude to social events and even to socialism per se.

These and other explanations, however, are a result of a simplistic approach to the lessons of history. The analogy of different circumstances may mislead, even provoke and compel to make comparisons. Nevertheless, we should consider how those circumstances differ. One situation cannot be judged through the "eyes" of another. We must make analyses, ask questions, seek correlations

and reasons; if we consult history correctly, we may conclude that what we have persistently tried to develop, support and "secure" is not being developed; on the contrary, that it is limping, that it has failed to reach an acceptable level, and that it has not been properly focused, not because people do not wish to know anything and are indifferent about what is happening now, but because we still too often try to deal with new problems and new tasks the old way.

Let us go back to the problems of the initiative, involvement and independence. We cannot help noticing that over the past 40 years our socialist society has grown both in size and strength and undergone great many fundamental qualitative changes. We cannot achieve its further progress with mere proclamations of conventional, spontaneous, uncontrolled activities implemented in the old way, because that would do more harm than good. Whether we want it or not, we are involved in an ongoing search for new directions for our initiative. In some areas we have advanced, in others we are only at the starting point, but we cannot go back to the old ways.

Yet a return to history has many other facets which may have an application in learning. We do not always realize that understanding -- more accurate comprehension -- of historical correlations is actually a preparation that is occasionally inevitable for our understanding and capability to find some orientation in current social circumstances. Proper knowledge of history enables us to classify social events, to separate the essential from the irrelevant, to determine and identify casualties, to adopt critical attitudes and also to sympathize and empathize -- in brief, to acquire a "social" and political outlook. However, we have many gaps and shortcomings precisely in the teaching of political awareness and political thinking based on history. Nothing can be as treacherous as a naively optimistic, mechanical or mechanistic approach to history and to the study of what we call "lessons of history." To avoid that pitfall, we must realize that even if we learn from history and avoid our predecessors' mistakes, we have no guarantee that we shall be immune from making such mistakes. It means that if we avoid repeating such errors, we may be able to commit fewer errors of our own. And vice versa: if we wish to achieve success of our own, it is not enough to repeat the successful accomplishments of our predecessors. In all probability, however, we shall achieve success if we can draw proper lessons from history.

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## POZSGAY FAULTS SYSTEM FOR LACK OF REFORM SINCE 1956

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 3, 1987 pp 34-40

[Article by Imre Pozsgay, Central Committee member and secretary general of the Patriotic People's Front: "Political Institutions and Social Development"]

[Text] Much has been said lately about the lessons and experiences of the past three decades in Hungary's history. The Marxist social scientists in their analyses, and the directly involved Communists in their reminiscences, have not only identified the causes and nature of 1956, but have also proven clearly that what took place in our country after 1945 has been a genuine revolution, one that lives on in our socialist development, despite the mistakes and crimes of the 1950's, and the tragic breach, society's dissension, and counterrevolution in 1956. In forming an opinion of the causes and nature of the events that took place in October 1956, we regard as our authoritative source the resolution that the Provisional Central Committee of the MSZMP adopted at its December 1956 session. This standpoint remains valid to this day. It points out the counterrevolutionary nature of the 23 October uprising, independently of what the vast majority of the participants had intended, and it identifies the four principal causes that led to the national tragedy.

Responding to a foreign and domestic anniversary challenge, most of the reminiscences and comprehensive reviews spanning the period have demonstrated that the Hungarian people identify with socialism and therefore, on the basis of this identification, our country's political system may be regarded as legitimate.

The purpose of our article is to investigate the interrelations between the political institutions and social development, and in the course of this to recall the results and experiences of the past 30 years, in the interest of promoting renewal and further progress. Where the article is obliged to refer to the history of the 1950's as well, it does so to dwell also on those lessons of this period that point beyond the past three decades. In agreement with party policy, we accept and support the two-front approach. But here, too, the party's experience applies that any extreme policy is able to open up fronts on two new wings. Consequently, any appeal for two-front sensitivity is a moot one if it does not specify the policy at the center. (It will be remembered that Rakosi, too, fought against sectarian dogmatism, and Stalin, too, condemned the cult of personality.)

How political power, the political system, and social development relate to one another is one of the most intriguing question of the relationship and interaction between the political institutions and social development. We investigate the relationship of these three factors on the principle of social development's primacy. If we neglect this historical and logical order, or parenthesize the aspect of socialist society's development, then political power and the political system become autotelic. The institutions of power, and the leaders representing them, adopt an apologetic behavior, suggesting to themselves and to society that a constant circle of persons and a constant system of institutions are the sole repository and guaranty of progress. This view was the basis of the sectarian dogmatic and voluntaristic distortions and transgressions of the law in the 1950's.

From 1949 on, the narrow circle of MDP [Hungarian Workers' Party] leaders behaved like an omniscient oligarchy that, independently of its declared objective and the party membership's will, used the program of socialism merely as an abstract ideological foundation, for its own self-justification. To justify itself, the political leadership needed quick results, a more advanced socialist society, which it wanted to create by defying reality. This led to forced collectivization, ill-advised and voluntaristic industrialization, excessively centralized government, and complete disregard for local independence and the citizens. A logical consequence of this same voluntaristic policy was that the desired result was declared achieved even when it was slow to materialize, in spite of resorting to means of coercion. Suitable exploration of the real situation was considered intolerable because it would have threatened the position of the leadership group. Just consider the June 1953 resolution of the MDP Central Committee. It was merely the first, superficial situation report, yet it set off a series of shock waves within the party and society.

The inner circle of the MDP leadership regarded the people as a passive mass that had to be suitably molded by means of coercion, education and propaganda. The political system that considered power an aim in itself needed also an enemy image even larger than life, to keep society in a state of constant mobilization. By fostering awareness of the enemy's nearness and menace, the political system wanted to gain further justification for the evolved mode of exercising power. Instead of the real enemy, which unquestionably was still a significant force at that time, an enemy was sought among the people and within the party. After all, frank criticism and truly justified dissatisfaction came from among those whom the distortion of power grieved the most. But the group in power rigidly rejected any criticism; suspicion and fear pervaded it increasingly. Due to the inexorable logic of events, fear-inspired half-measures were adopted that satisfied no one, because society already wanted a radical change. But institutions of suitable authority and influence were lacking to resolve the resulting conflicts. This process led to the erosion of society's political stability, while the existence of stability and unity was still being voiced.

When we look back on the past three decades and demonstrate their link with the revolutionary process which began in 1945 and has wrought profound social changes, we must not forget that the first great breach in this process was caused by the mode of exercising power, a mode that should have served

specifically the revolution. This enabled all the other causes of the crisis to emerge and become significant factors.

Investigation of the interrelations between the political institutions and social development necessitates that we identify also the causes of the political distortions which led to the crisis of the 1950's. And we must also point out that the phenomena described above were not peculiar to the conditions in Hungary alone. The same distortions occurred in practically every European socialist country. The common cause of these distortions was the existence up to then of only one practice of building socialism. In their eagerness to conform, the European socialist countries competed with one another in adopting this practice undiscerningly. Behind this there was pressure from Stalin, as well as the situation assessment at the time, according to which a global clash with imperialism was imminent. This, then, was the international or external cause which affected the entire community and influenced the political systems of socialism being built on a national scale also in Hungary, among others. The misconception prevailed that the Soviet model was the only alternative to be followed. Therefore the differences stemming from national peculiarities, cultural and political traditions, and levels of economic development were disregarded. A consequence of this in a certain sense was the absolutistic system of making political decisions. The point of departure was that the party leadership was well versed in the applicable theory and knew the needs of social progress and of the people (because of their fallibility stemming from natural instincts, the people themselves could not even know their needs); furthermore, that these needs could be satisfied with the help of a command-directed economic system. In other words, the needs themselves were prescribed, based on the contention that personal interest and society's interest coincided directly under socialism, and the assertion of any particular interest was a disorder.

From this concept there evolved a multitude of public organizations and movements subordinate to the one-party system, limited to an agitating and will-transmitting role, and insignificant in their operations. Social criticism guaranteed by law did not function within the political system. Institutional safeguards that would have enabled society to oversee the exercise of power were lacking because the party and the state were fused completely, and the functions of the two types of organizations became indistinguishable. There was no room in this system for the citizens' individual initiatives. In the relationship between the citizen and the state, the exact opposite was achieved of what Marx in his "Critique of the Gotha Program," and Lenin in his "The State and Revolution," had charted as the direction of future development.

Whenever the subject of the distortions of the 1950's comes up, many people express concern that its discussion might discredit socialism and tarnish the often heroic efforts of all those who served their cause amidst intensified class struggle, with dedication and personal honesty. On this issue, I believe, repetition will not be useless: the fruits of their work are of lasting value, and these achievements of socialism must be preserved and developed further. A result of their activity is the continuity that exists since 1945.

Some of the external causes that contributed to the distortions of the 1950's have gradually ceased by now. Therefore we are also able to measure the socialist countries' economic, social and political development in terms of the extent to which they have departed from the domestic methods which caused the distortions and then perpetuated them. From the viewpoint of the true meaning of internationalism, this is not exclusively the internal concern of the socialist countries, although each socialist country is able to solve its problem of this nature only on the basis of its own sovereignty. The 20th CPSU Congress was instrumental in uncovering the problem, and the CPSU is also playing a significant role in seeking present-day solutions to the problem. The April 1985 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, and the 27th CPSU Congress are examples of how to set aside a scheme that has become inoperable, and its outdated forms, so as to pave the way for socialism's social, economic and political renewal, bearing in mind man's needs and making use of the human factor. Here again the readiness for radical renewal must serve as our example, rather than the specific solutions and methods tailored to the individual countries' peculiarities.

The key question of social development, and of the political institutions' development, is how the role and functions of the party have evolved.

To be able to cope with the onerous legacy of the 1950's, the MSZMP had to decide on fundamental changes within itself as well. First of all, the party had to be reorganized in the spirit of Lenin's norms of party life. The objective was to gain for the party's work the voluntary participation of Communists who support, advocate and implement the program of socialism, by conviction and in a principled manner, in an alliance with nonmembers that is based on equality.

The MSZMP has always regarded its role within society as service, rather than a position of power. The party's fundamental principle has been that the exercise of its leadership functions depends on the extent to which it is able to convince society of the soundness of the party's decisions, and thereby gain society's active cooperation for implementing the resolutions. It has adhered to the principle that facts must be treated and recognized as facts even when they are at odds with the initial conceptions or expectations.

Subordinated to the requirements of socialist development, the changes starting with the party's organization have modified significantly the way the political system and political power operate. Typical of this policy has been the endeavor to let the pace of progress be determined by the tasks which have matured within society, and which the people are able to undertake. This principled policy and patience have played a decisive role in the fairly rapid consolidation, and in enabling power to create value by operating in accordance with society's immediate and more distant interests, instead of becoming alienated from the people.

The party's self-knowledge has again been the point of departure in developing the political system. With self-restraint in exercising power, and by taking the nation's historical and social realities into account, the party



has been able to restore its credibility, regain the confidence of the people, and convince the vast majority that socialism is being built not only by Communists for Communists, but by the entire people for the entire people. In other words, the abusers of power have been replaced by people who know also the pitfalls of power, the catastrophic consequences of abusing and distorting power.

The radical changes within the party have had a strong influence on the political system's institutions. In the renewal of the state's structure we have to mention first of all the restoration of constitutional order and legality, which guarantees the authorities' respect for the law, as well as the citizen's freedom and personal safety. The restoration of legality has dispelled the atmosphere of terror, and has created favorable psychological conditions for the all-round development of socialist democracy. The consistent observation of legality has also played a role in that the great social changes after 1956--for example, the collectivization of agriculture, and the new phase of industrialization and of the cultural revolution--have taken place without coercion and abuses of power, and with the cooperation of the vast majority of those involved.

The party's renewal, the restoration of legality, the perceptible improvement of the citizens' living conditions, and then the economic results to underpin and raise further the standard of living, led to recognition of the principle that people are entitled, commensurately with the value of their work, to a share of the goods they produce. From a sacrifice for the future, socialism has thus become a personally experienced, everyday way of life, for which it is also worth making sacrifices. It can be demonstrated that the change in exercising political power and in the political system has contributed directly toward the successful, albeit not painless, restructuring of the economy and society. With the help of the policy of alliance based on wide PPF support, this change in the final outcome has led society from crisis to consolidation, and from consolidation to consensus. This has become the political path to socialist national unity.

The national unity expressed in consensus, in the general agreement on supporting socialism, people's power and foreign policy, has served as the foundation of the further opportunities to develop democracy. And the development of socialist democracy has reinforced national unity and consensus. The realization has dawned that an effective and productive society cannot be imagined without active, resourceful and enterprising citizens. And wide-scale social activity presupposes in its turn a historically determined degree of freedom and democracy.

The MSZMP has asserted successfully its leading role in the elaboration and realization of its society-building objectives. The ideas embodied in its resolutions and pertaining to the people as a whole, to society, have become a national program. Of course, the formulation and implementation of such a national program are never possible without contradictions and conflicts. For this very reason, the MSZMP has been asserting its leading role in this tension-ridden process because it wants to resolve the contradictions, create a form of motion for them, rather than just forget about them. The recognition and exploration of interest relations under socialism, as well as the

criticism of national economic planning in physical terms, have also been steps of great theoretical importance, leading to the elaboration of the economic reform.

The reform of economic management has produced further changes in asserting the party's leading role and in the political institutions' operation. The most important has been the realization that the interest relations cannot be explored, and sound and necessary policy decisions cannot be made, without openly letting the interests surface, clash and be represented. This has had repercussions for the political institutions as well. Namely, an essential feature of socialist democracy is, among other things, the development of a system for the representation of interests, based on the variety and division of interests; and also a legally guaranteed system of decision-making that takes the representation of interests and the interest relations into account while not neglecting the public, either.

The change has permeated not only the party and the voluntary public organizations, but the legislative bodies and public-administration agencies as well. This process included the reorganization of the system of councils, on the basis of the Council Law enacted in 1971; the constitutional amendments; and the electoral system's further development. By virtue of its political content, however, we may include here also the development of cooperative and enterprise democracy, with new forms of microeconomic management and opportunities for the development of collective ownership, foreshadowing the economic organizations' widespread self-management.

To sum up the experiences of the past 30 years: the political system and political institutions have developed apace with the socioeconomic conditions; at the time of major transformations, the party initiated and directed the changes, and the other political institutions played a significant role in this process. The party was able to provide initiative because it proved, in the crisis and at the subsequent turning points, that it could renew its organization and methods; with its program, the party has demonstrated its qualifications for leadership.

Those who regard the past three decades as a successful period of Hungarian history and of building socialism are unquestionably right. Everybody knows and recognizes the results. However, the results are creditable only if we recognize also the contradictions and conflicts that stem from development and await solution. Namely, the arising new problems suddenly make us realize that we have no cause to feel complacent because, historically, we have traveled only a short stretch of the socialist road. For the problems indicate that, with numerous historical achievements in place, the possibilities of the extensive phase have been exhausted, economically and in a social and political sense as well. We are now in the state of seeking ways, prior to choosing a turning point, after which a balance will again be due of our results and mistakes.

As a result of the very important rearrangements in the world economy in our time, a period has ended in the European socialist countries as well. The most conspicuous signs of this are: the slowdown of economic growth; low



capital efficiency; and widespread squandering of assets, labor, materials and energy. Like the less developed countries, the socialist countries are also in danger of lagging behind in the world economy's progressive processes. By now it is evident that the problem is not merely depletion of the sources of extensive economic growth, but the economy's need, in addition to scarce capital goods, also for cooperations, coordination and solidarity that meet the new, qualitative requirements. Because, without them, social relations also become loose and demoralized; and the individual finds isolation and self-reliance more and more appealing than the collective.

The problems that have accumulated in the economy and in our lives, the signs of crisis, are not solely the consequences of the world economy's negative effects. They stem also from the failure of the socialist countries, Hungary included, to solve the economy's basic structural problems, and many aspects of the relationship among society, the economy, and politics. To prevent these signs of crisis from developing into a crisis of the socialist system itself, we must also sum up theoretically socialism's experiences to date, consistently and without bias, striving for the unembellished truth. We must employ this modern theory as our guideline for drafting our long-range plans to create a socialism that better serves man's liberation, freedom and the satisfaction of his needs, and is capable of greater economic performance.

In this situation, recall once again what has been said about the party's leading role. For past success is merely an advance on the leading role to be played in the future. That leading role is not a gift in perpetuity, rather an achievement in the true sense of the word, one for which the party must fight daily. Thus the Hungarian party and political system are facing a new test. As an important lesson of the past 30 years, we mentioned that the MSZMP has been able to continuously manage and resolve the contradictions that necessarily arise in the course of development, before they could lead to a crisis or upheaval. This ability stems to no small extent from the fact that a great crisis and tragic upheaval forced the party's renewal. The track record of the MSZMP to date guarantees that it will also provide leadership and initiative for solving the problems that have now piled up. This ability to provide initiative is also necessary to avoid achieving socialism's renewal, and more effective operation, at the cost of yet another crisis and upheaval.

For us it is no excuse that crises, situations similar to ours, exist elsewhere as well, and can be traced to perceptibly similar causes. This can only help us uncover the sources of the contradictions experienced in our country, but we cannot look to others for the possible resolution of our own tensions. Therefore we must investigate why, despite our earlier initiatives and an economic reform launched nearly 20 years ago, we are still coping with problems similar to the ones in countries that have not changed meaningfully their evolved systems of economic management. Naturally, we may not assume that our economic reform has been in vain. More to the point, our economic reform has not been sufficiently comprehensive, has not gone far enough, and has not permeated all areas of society and the economy. In the economy, and in the narrower and wider economic environment, structural factors have been left unchanged that have been able to neutralize the reform measures.

It is necessary to investigate, among other things, what our political system retains of the earlier structural elements that in principle have become obsolete.

We may presumably attribute to the influence of the old structural elements, for example, the fact that--despite all the policy declarations--the voluntary public and political organizations lack sufficient weight; or that--in the absence of suitable political and legal guaranties--the representation of interests is very unstable, and the government can decide to suspend it at will. The development of democratic institutions is important and noteworthy in general, but their operation and the realization of their purpose are hampered by our failure up to now to define economic self-management and self-government that are modern and based on collective ownership, yet ensure local independence and initiative. This, too, is a reason why local governments in the settlements are weak and essentially allocation-oriented. We are not yet supporting civic responsibility and political initiative adequately. The citizen's political role, freedom of association, and his relationship with state and voluntary public organizations are uncertain. The fact that one's livelihood and opportunities for success are tied excessively to the official hierarchy is a source of tensions. Because of this, constructive criticism is mostly a matter of civic courage, personal resolve, and sometimes of heroism. Due to the practice and traditions of openness, people are often skeptical regarding the truthfulness of the mass media.

The behavior of self-governments, and of voluntary public, political and interest-representing organizations, is shaped by ad hoc interventions, and not by their partnership relations. Often the extent of their independence depends on what they have been able to persuade the supervising agencies to agree to; therefore their independence is unpredictable and subject to sudden tactical changes. Hence it logically follows that the citizens, their self-governments, associations and voluntary public organizations, which should be broadening initiative and spreading democratic practices, are themselves forming a tactical relationship with the social environment, because of their own limited scope and internal disinterestedness.

The bureaucratic solution--by obscuring accountability, restricting openness, treating with suspicion and subjecting to licensing even the law-abiding and constitution-conforming initiatives--encourages the emergence of cliques. Due to the absence of openness, intrigue contrary to the rules replaces guidance and partnership guaranteed by regulations. This leaves no room for public control, and there is no real choice of solutions to the problems, nor of personal alternatives. The excessively bureaucratic approach does not tolerate consensus; it demands a priori consensus even on matters in which the unity of society, or of the local collectives, ought to be achieved by debating the alternatives, or through election that expresses the will of the majority.

Even despite these negative phenomena, we cannot concur with the erroneous view that the mentioned problems ought to be solved by "banishing" politics, e.g., by the party's withdrawal from the economy. (There is no such policy anywhere in the world.) We ought to concentrate instead on the means by which political decision-making could be made more democratic and more

professional. Perhaps the most important question in this area is how to use the activist, militant element in the party organizations to counterbalance the bureaucratic tendencies. One cause of such tendencies is that government agencies often request standpoints from the party's various forums because the agencies themselves are reluctant to assume responsibility for tough decisions. The greatest danger of this practice is that the division of responsibility between the party and the state becomes obscured and, in the final outcome, the party becomes responsible for everything.

The fate of all further social initiatives, the economic problems' solution, the reform's continuation, socialist democracy's development, and socialism's future in Hungary will depend on how successful we are in renewing the relationship between the party and the state, between the party and society. The activity and responsibility of the party's membership and organizations, and particularly of the multitude of trained, professional party workers committed to party democracy, are indispensable to seeking the right solutions. The state organizations and the elected representatives of the people are likewise certain to support this objective. After all, work performed independently, and with unambiguously defined accountability, is the source of self-respect also in their case, confirmed bureaucrats excepted. And the members and activists of the interest-representing organizations, independently operating mass movements and voluntary public organizations can be irreplaceable allies in shaping the relationship between the party and society in accordance with the new requirements, and in uncovering new resources.

An open and frank dialog with society on these questions, and subsequently the elaboration of a program for the socialist political system's development, will prevent certain circles from offering nonsocialist alternatives for the solution of our problems. Specifically on the basis of the past three decades' experiences and results, the people expect the MSZMP to provide the initiative and a program for the solution of our problems.

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## REFORM ECONOMISTS DEMAND CHANGES IN 'SECRET' DOCUMENT

Rome L'UNITA in Italian 19 Mar 87 p 8

[Article by Luigi Marcolungo: "The Document that Budapest Wants To Keep 'Secret'"]

[Text] These days, international attention has been redirected to Hungary by the traditional demonstration on 15 March in commemoration of the anti-Austrian revolts of 1848, a demonstration that was this time held legally both by the opposition and the official Patriotic People's Front [PPF].

However, though the impact of this first manifestation of tolerance by the regime toward an organized dissent should certainly not be underestimated, the real new fact in Hungarian policy is a document developed and discussed up to the end of November last year by a broadly representative group of the most prestigious Hungarian economists. In this document is proposed and discussed for the first time a genuine alternative to the social and economic policy of the government. Berecz, one of the strong men of the MSZMP Political Bureau, who is talked of as a possible candidate to replace Kadar, went so far as to describe this document as an alternative government program desired by an alternative center of power in the party.

However, it would be wrong to think that this document is the expression of the "opposition" that demonstrated around the statue of Petofi. The document was prepared at the request of the council for social policy of the PPF, under the PPF National Council, directly controlled by the party and chaired by a member of the MSZMP Central Committee, Imre Pozsgay. In its preparation and then discussion participated some of the most well-known economists and scholars in Hungary, from several of the fathers of the 1968 economic reform to the most well-known leaders of the new reforms.

And the fact that the document is really "important" is demonstrated by the iron rule of silence that has applied to it. Both on the part of the drafters, concerned that its "nonofficial" appearance, perhaps on Radio Free Europe, might provide an excuse for easy labeling that could compromise its content, and on the part of the official party organs, which, while permitting a "personalized" distribution, have thus far opposed having it discussed in newspaper articles or television commentaries, or having it discussed or even only distributed within the appropriate political offices, such as the PPF National Council itself. After reports of this document a few days ago

through THE ECONOMIST, and an interview released by one of its authors, Tamas Bauer, to CORRIERE DELLA SERA, L'UNITA is able to provide a report, though necessarily limited, of the entire document.

Already the title of the document, "Turnaround and Reform--1986" gives a clear indication of the goal of the study, that is, to point out the changes necessary to bring about a genuine turnaround in the economy, which is facing the danger, as the drafters of the report affirm, of a stagnation such as to place in doubt for decades any possibility of Hungary even maintaining the level of development achieved.

The economy's results for 1985-1986 are dramatically worse than those forecast. "...The main problem is not so much the fact that restoration of the foreign balance is occurring less effectively than forecast, and that more serious social sacrifices are thus required. The real problem is the lack of prospects: in the economy, the processes of structural adaptation that could be the leading force in a future recovery have not yet got underway." According to the document preparers, the crisis has five factors. In the first place, the depletion of the reserves with which to face the future difficulties, and the accelerating detachment from the development processes of the world economy, also from the technical, qualitative and scientific aspects, with resulting external decline. And further, the fact that COMECON no longer constitutes a secure hinterland, capable of guaranteeing sure prospects for an increase and improvement in economic trade; that the factors impeding growth are derived, more than from external factors, above all from basic internal problems; and that, lastly, the political and economic mechanism that had thus far determined the distribution of wealth has become blocked because of the economic crisis, and leads only to useless waste, causing a serious crisis of faith in the institutions.

According to the document, the illusion that the economic crisis is substantially under control, created precisely by the official policy, in addition to not informing the citizens of the seriousness of the situation, runs the risk of causing damages to the economy such as to be a burden for decades on future generations, and such as to make it impossible to later have sufficient credibility to ask a demoralized and untrusting society for the sacrifices necessary to adequately face the situation.

Without a decisive return to the principles of the 1968 reform, and introduction of genuine market mechanisms, it is impossible, according to the document authors, to foresee a halt to the continuing worsening of the economy. What is needed is to achieve liberalization of imports and convertibility of the currency, elimination of the exorbitant state subsidies to enterprises in deficit, setting a limit to the public debt, restructuring, through drastic application of the bankruptcy law, of inefficient enterprises, also accepting, if necessary, a temporary unemployment, whose burden should be alleviated by social security mechanisms today nonexistent, introduction of a system of single taxation of income that equally distributes the tax burden among the various categories, broadening of the entrepreneurial opportunities for companies and individuals, and, finally, an active international economic policy that, in addition to reviewing Hungary's participation in the investments and mechanisms of COMECON, would include a deepening of relations with the Socialist economies committed to developing similar economic reforms.

However, according to the authors, an essential condition for being able to achieve this turnaround is for the government to launch a dialogue with all levels of the society to evaluate the seriousness of the crisis and in order to be able to count on broader support and participation. Without a genuine social reform, in the direction of social openness and the achievement of a major democratization of the decision processes, it is impossible, the document concludes, to think that any economic reform will be possible.

The only thing that appears strange is how in Hungary, where the political leaders are proudly declaring that they directly anticipated the Gorbachev "openness," it has thus far not been possible to either discuss or publicly recognize this document.

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CSO: 3528/99

## PARTY DAILY VIEWS WU XUEQIAN VISIT, PRC CONTACTS

AU181241 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Mar 87 p 5

[Zygmunt Slmkowski commentary: "Broader and Fuller"]

[Text] Last week's visit by Wu Xueqian, CPC Politburo member and minister of foreign affairs, may be described as follows:

First, it was the first visit to Poland at foreign minister level in almost 40 years of PPR-PRC relations. Contacts between both foreign ministries and their leaders are not new, but Minister Wu Xueqian's Warsaw visit opened an important stage in tightening up the dialogue and consultations between both foreign ministries. This is of major importance in order to exchange views concerning the best conditions for socialist construction in both countries, in other words, strengthening the fabric of peace and international cooperation and encouraging processes that facilitate a reduction in the arms race and prevention of a nuclear catastrophe.

Here one should note that, apart from Poland, the head of Chinese diplomacy is also visiting Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. Thus, the Warsaw talks possessed an international dimension because they pointed to the animation of PRC relations with the European socialist countries.

Second, as the Chinese guest stressed at a meeting with journalists, his Warsaw talks were an important part of preparations for the June visit to Poland by Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang, acting CPC Central Committee general secretary. This visit and last year's visit to Beijing by Wojciech Jaruzelski show that Polish-Chinese relations are expanding and that the importance attached to them in both capitals is increasing.

Third, the desire of both states to develop cooperation in practically every sphere was confirmed. Of course, particular attention was paid to trade and the economy. The point is to find solutions that will form a basis for a lasting and stable development of relations on the principles of mutual advantage, equality, and partnership, once basic reserves are exhausted. These problems will be examined in greater detail at the May session of the mixed commission, which will no doubt discuss such issues as industrial joint production, the practical application of scientific-technological achievements, the formation of joint enterprises, and so on.

Cooperation between cities, such as that successfully started between Gdansk and Shanghai, also present possibilities, including economic possibilities. Cooperation between parties, parliaments, and mass organizations will serve to improve mutual knowledge and expand our relations. The favorable climate for such broad relations is making both sides interested in the experience gained during the process of reforming the economy and consolidating socialist democracy and the rule of law, as the Warsaw talks also showed.

Thus, Minister Wu Xueqian's visit and the open talks that took place in a sincere and friendly atmosphere should be viewed as a major constructive step on the road to making our relations closer for the good of both countries and peoples.

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## PZPR DAILY VIEWS PRC TIES, WU VISIT

AU160900 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Mar 87 p 6

[Zygmunt Slomkowski commentary: "Beijing is Closer to Warsaw"]

[Text] Beijing and Warsaw are drawing closer to each other, and this is not just because LOT Polish Airlines will start operating a direct service linking the two capitals at the end of this month. It is but one product of Polish-Chinese cooperation, which is rapidly expanding and becoming closer. The crucial determining factor in this process was the visit that army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee secretary and State Council chairman, paid to the PRC last year. Tomorrow Wu Xueqian, PRC minister of foreign affairs, CPC Central Committee Politburo member and member of the PRC State Council, will arrive in Poland and a visit to Poland by Premier Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, has already been announced. It ought to be pointed out, and not just for the sake of fulfilling a chronicler's duty, that we last received such high-level representatives of People's China as guests during the years 1954-59 when Zhou En-lai, premier and minister of foreign affairs, Zhu De, PRC deputy chairman, and Peng Dehuai, deputy premier and minister of defense,--representatives of the highest PRC state and party authorities--visited Poland.

The resumption of Polish-Chinese meetings at the highest state, party, and diplomatic levels is an expression of the full normalization of relations between Poland and China and of a common desire for their quantitative and qualitative expansion in all areas, an expansion that accords with the interests of both countries and peoples. This is because there are many common factors that provide lasting pillars for expanding our relations on the basis of mutual advantage.

Those of us living on the banks of the Vistula and Odra and those who live on the banks of the Yangtze and the Yellow River have arrived at an important stage in history, the characteristic features of which are the implementation of a program to accelerate socioeconomic development and improve the socialist state; and the goal of this process is to create better conditions for people. International cooperation is an important factor in these processes. This is what lies behind the rapid and considerable growth in Polish-Chinese trade during the last 3 to 4 years. At the present time China is our fifth largest trading partner and in terms of size of China's trade with socialist countries Poland occupies second place after the USSR. Thanks to Polish-Chinese trade, the PRC receives machinery and equipment that it needs from Poland and Poland receives

raw materials, consumer goods (including cotton products) and, to an increasing degree, machinery and equipment that Chinese industry--which is undergoing a process of modernization and expansion--can provide. This year that latter group of goods has accounted for 10 percent of Polish imports from China, whereas last year it accounted for only 3 percent of imports.

The tasks that are currently being carried out in Poland and China are of a long-term nature and they will extend into the next century. Thus, these tasks call for favorable and stable external conditions, for what is the most fundamental of fundamental conditions, that is, peace and international security. On this issue the views of Poland and China are convergent. This applies in particular to the need to prevent a nuclear catastrophe and the extension of the arms race into space, as well as to the creation of appropriate and equal economic relations in the world and the promotion of broadly conceived international cooperation. The voice and role of China as a socialist power is of great significance in this respect.

It can be expected that these key contemporary issues will be the subject of the talks that Minister Wu Xueqian will hold in Warsaw. These talks will be a continuation of the dialogue at the foreign minister level that has been conducted at the forum of the United Nations since 1983. These issues were also discussed during the visit that Wojciech Jaruzelski paid to Beijing last year. The Warsaw meetings will provide an opportunity to sum up the progress that has been made in bilateral relations, both political and economic, and in other areas of activity, including science, culture, and sport.

The question of ways and means of further expanding cooperation in the economic field occupies first place on the agenda. The rapid growth in trade during recent years has exhausted ordinary reserves and has now reached a level that it will be very difficult to exceed using traditional methods. The 1985 agreement on trade and scientific and technological cooperation has set out certain courses. It is primarily a question of the second element of the agreement. One can also turn to experience, such as that provided by the Polish-Chinese shipping association Chipolbrok, which has been in operation since 1951. The growing economic and scientific potential of both countries creates new opportunities that ought to be used for our common benefit. This also applies to other fields, and one can entertain the hope that Minister Wu Xueqian's talks will contribute to this.

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## ORZECZOWSKI SPEAKS AT WU XUEQIAN DINNER

AU160923 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Mar 87 p 2

[Report on speech given by M. Orzechowski, PPR minister of foreign affairs and PZPR Politburo member, at a dinner given in honor of Wu Xueqian, PRC foreign minister, CPC Central Committee Poliburo member, and member of the PRC State Council, in Warsaw on 10 March]

[Text] PAP--Welcoming the Chinese visitor, M. Orzechowski stressed that the peoples of both countries are linked together by traditions of friendship that have existed for many years. A profound love of freedom is a characteristic feature of both our peoples. We Poles have supported and always felt great sympathy for your great people's struggle for national and social liberation under the leadership of the CPC.

Referring to Polish-Chinese relations, M. Orzechowski stressed that these relations have rich tradition that goes back many years. As a result of mutual aspirations and efforts, cooperation between our peoples and countries has entered a qualitatively new phase, which was initiated by the visit that W. Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and PPR State Council chairman, paid to Beijing last year. I do not think it is an exaggeration to describe the visit as marking a turning point in the history of Polish-Chinese relations. The talks between the leaders of our countries gave a new, invigorating impetus to the processes of strengthening mutual contacts and the development of comprehensive cooperation. We have already achieved significant results in the field of cooperation and we have promising plans for the future.

The international situation is very complicated. This is because the universal threat posed by the arms race, unequal economic relations, and regional conflicts has not diminished. We are disturbed by the tendency on the part of some imperialist circles to solve international problems in an arbitrary fashion, often by using force, in order to realize their selfish interests. The correct path leading to a world without nuclear weapons described by the Soviet leader obstructs "Star Wars" plans, the aim of which is to enable imperialism to obtain military superiority and to upset the strategic balance that exists in the world.

We are a European state. The situation on this continent is the subject of particular concern for us. We equate our own security with the security of all of Europe. Like our Warsaw Pact allies, we are constantly making efforts to further

the process of security, confidence, and cooperation in all areas and the preservation of the common heritage of our continent. An essential condition for the preservation of lasting peace in Europe is the inviolability of the political and territorial realities based on the agreements signed at Yalta and Potsdam. All attempts to undermine the foundations--set down in international law--of the political and territorial order in Europe are impermissible and dangerous. Bearing this in mind, we gratefully recall the support China accorded us for our border along the Odra and Nysa Rivers from the very first days of People's Poland.

Although we live in Europe we are also open to the rest of the world. We are successfully developing relations with states in other regions, including the great continent of Asia and the Pacific region. We support the initiatives and efforts of states in this region, aimed at strengthening peace and security and reducing tension. In view of this we approve the proposals advanced by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok.

We highly assess the decision of the government of the PRC--a power that possesses nuclear weapons--to sign the treaty on the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the southern Pacific region.

We are certain that consistent cooperation between socialist states in the international arena will contribute to halting the arms race. We warmly welcome the restoral of political contacts and the development of economic relations between your country and the socialist states of Europe.

Talking about the domestic situation, M. Orzechowski said that Poland is a country that has made historic social progress, although it has experienced difficulties and has been through bitter experiences on many occasions. We want to meet the challenges of today and the 21st Century, which is fast approaching. We have the goals set by the 9th and 10th Congresses--the democratization of our system and economic reform. We are trying to make the scope of national accord as broad as possible. There has been a tangible improvement in the social climate.

Thanks to an improvement in the state of our economy and stabilization, Poland's international position has grown. However, we know very well that there is still much to be done, that the international authority of our state can only be boosted through internal order and socioeconomic development. We will continue in this direction and will assist the process of internal strengthening through cooperation with friendly states, including the PRC, and by making use of their experiences.

Closing his speech, the minister expressed his firm conviction that the visit to Poland by the Chinese foreign minister and the talks with the state and party leadership will be of great importance for strengthening the long-term, comprehensive development of cooperation between the PPR and the PRC in the interests of socialism and the strengthening of ties between all socialist states for the cause of peace.

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## JARUZELSKI, ORZECOWSKI MEET PRC'S WU

AU160907 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Mar 87 p 1

[Text] PAP--Wu Xueqian, PRC minister of foreign affairs, CPC Central Committee Politburo member, and member of the PRC State Council, arrived in Poland on 10 March to pay an official visit at the invitation of Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Politburo member and PPR minister of foreign affairs. It is expected that the entire field of mutual relations, particularly political, economic, and cultural relations, will be discussed during the visit.

On 10 March Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and PPR State Council chairman, received Wu Xueqian, PRC minister of foreign affairs, CPC Central Committee Politburo member, and member of the PRC State Council, who is in Poland on an official visit.

During their talks they highly assessed the development of friendly relations and comprehensive cooperation between both states and peoples. They exchanged views on current international issues and information on the situation in both countries.

They stressed both states' desire to work for the strengthening of peace, detente, arms reduction, and the development of international cooperation.

It was stated that the further comprehensive development of cooperation between the PPR and the PRC lies in the interests of both nations and serves the cause of peace and socialism.

Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Politburo member and PPR minister of foreign affairs, took part in the meeting and Wang Jinqing, PRC ambassador, was also present.

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## PRC'S WU XUEQIAN REPLY TO ORZECZOWSKI TOAST

AU131242 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Mar 87 p 2

["Summary" of speech by PRC Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian at a banquet in his honor in Warsaw on 11 March]

[Text] Expressing thanks for his hospitable reception in Warsaw, Minister Wu Xueqian said that the Polish people's contribution to the development of human civilization and its manly struggle for the restoration and defense of the fatherland's independence and national liberation have always aroused and are still arousing the Chinese people's esteem. Following World War II and under exceptionally difficult conditions, the Polish people commenced the country's reconstruction, and with its own talent and hard work built a new People's Poland on top of the ruins.

Discussing his country's situation, he said that successes have been achieved in China's socialist construction. Since 1978, guided by the line laid down by the third plenum of the 11th CPC term of office, our country has entered a new period marked by political stabilization and unity and by constant economic development. The "third plenum line" that I have mentioned means in a nutshell a line of socialist construction that stems from the Chinese reality and is adapted to Chinese specifics. It contains two basic features. The first of these is based on four fundamental principles, namely: leadership of the CPC, people's democratic dictatorship, a socialist and Marxist Leninist path coupled with the ideas of Mao Zedong, and the combatting of bourgeois liberalism. The second feature is the steadfast implementation of economic reform and an openness to the world. Both these features are closely interconnected and neither of them may be absent. This is a line that serves the vital interests of the billion-strong Chinese people, a just line that has been tested in practice. Guided by this line, we will continue to adhere to the four basic principles, conduct a reform to the political and economic system, ceaselessly improve socialist democracy and the rule of law, and implement the policy of economic revival and openness to the world. Thus, we will strongly struggle to turn our country into a powerful socialist state possessing Chinese Characteristics.

Referring to the international situation, Wu Xueqian said that both the Chinese and Polish people need lasting peace in order to successfully carry out socialist construction. We harbor total appreciation and admiration for the PPR, which has made tireless efforts to preserve peace in Europe and the world.

China is constantly conducting an independent and peaceful foreign policy, and making steady efforts in the great work of easing tension and preserving world peace. We believe that as far as peace, a matter concerning the fate of all mankind, is concerned, all countries, great or small, powerful or weak, have the right to speak out and make their contribution. In order for peace to rule the world, relations between various countries should be based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence. Countries with different social systems should observe these principles in their mutual relations, whereas the socialist countries should set an example in observing them. Of course we realize that because of the continuing arms race and the continuation of conflicts in "hot spots" in some regions, the international situation still contains many disturbing features and the danger of war continues to exist. But the forces of peace are growing. We are convinced that world peace can be saved as long as all peace-loving countries and peoples make joint efforts. The Chinese Government and people will continue to make their contribution here.

The friendship between the Chinese and Polish peoples is very old, Wu Xueqian continued. Both China and Poland need to conduct reforms, develop their economies, and increase their standards of living under stable political and social conditions. Both our countries desire lasting peace and detente. During the past few years, China and Poland have made visible progress in mutual relations in the spheres of politics, the economy, science and technology, and culture. Deserving particular emphasis is the fact that the last September visit of our country by Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and PPR State Council chairman, commended a new period in the development of Sino-Polish relations. In June this year Zhao Ziyang, acting CPC Central Committee general secretary and premier of the PRC State Council, will pay a visit to Poland. We are convinced that his visit will greatly consolidate and cement the friendly cooperation between China and Poland. A full respect for the domestic and foreign policy led by the socialist countries of Eastern Europe and worked out on the basis of their own interests with reference to the reality in their own countries is one of our fundamental guidelines. Let us make joint efforts in a spirit of mutual respect, equality, and equal advantages, so that the flowers of Sino-Polish cooperation and friendship may bloom even more beautifully.

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## BEDNARSKI VIEWS PARTY'S ROLE

AU181215 Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish 14 Jan 87 pp 1, 3, 4

["Excerpts" from report read by Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski at the 14-15 November 1986 All-Poland Theoretical-Practical Conference in Bydgoszcz]

[Excerpts] Following the 10th PZPR Congress, we began the new term of party activities with more extensive programs than those of the previous party congresses. What matters most now is to devote our efforts to the effective realization of these programs. There is no doubt that the party fulfills the key, strategic function in this realization because of its role as the leader, the guide, and the servant of the Polish people and their socialist state.

Within the framework of the socialist socioeconomic and political system, the PZPR plays three closely connected roles--as the servant of the workers class and all the working people, as the leader of society, and the guide of the state. All these functions are the modern substance of the leadership and vanguard position of the governing workers party and stem from the general laws contained in the theory of the activities of a new-type party in socialist society.

The party's strength and ability to effectively fulfill its functions as a servant, guide, and leader depend on many factors, but the most important of them is the party's ideological, political, and organizational prowess.

Appraising the current condition of the party and its real political prowess, we are able to note two trends: On the one hand, our party has consolidated and retained its positions, following the political struggle in the past years, and, what is most important, has not relinquished power and not abandoned the basic ideas of its program adopted by the 10th Congress. It has proved that it is a force that no one is able to replace as the guarantor of national sovereignty and the socialist character of the state. As a result, our party has become capable of running the comprehensive processes of the socialist regeneration and development in our country.

At the same time, a second trend continues to assert itself in that the process of the party's consolidation is still uneven. There is a disproportion between the tasks and requirements of the new stage, on the hand, and the continued



features of poor militancy of the individual party echelons or structures. Our influence on the nonparty workers communities and their support for us are still insufficient. Many party organizations still limit their activities to internal party life.

However, the party's political influence consists not only of the fact that it occupies the key positions in the structure of power, controls the mass media, and so on, but also of the fact that it maintains daily ties with communities at work and at home. It is also important for party members to make a moral and political impact on the conduct of nonparty people' to promote agitation, propaganda, and defense with regard to the party line under the most difficult conditions of social demagoguery, mistrust, and even hostility; to sponsor and support discussions; and to solve the most difficult, "harassing," and controversial problems in their plants and work communities.

The fact that the party has not taken real root in individual communities is connected with the "state-oriented" style of work of activists and party echelons. Some of these echelons focus their attention on inspiring, consulting, and evaluating the performance of state bodies, especially administrative bodies, and become at times intermediaries between so-called society and administration instead of expressing the will and interests of their real sovereign--the workers class as related to the entire society and the state.

The internal and organizational strength of the party is the necessary condition for its discharging the leading role. The party is organizationally strong only if:

--It is a mass party in that its great numerical strength denotes the ability to attract the most militant working people, to boost the militancy of all members, and to exert an impact on all the people around; in this way the mass character of the party is measured by the number of genuine backers of the party's program who are ready to realize it in their own ranks, in sociopolitical organizations, among nonparty people, and in all basic occupational communities;

--It is distinguished by the cohesion of its ranks, the unity of its all members' ideological aspirations, the active practical acceptance and realization of its political program, organizational discipline, and the great mobility and efficiency of its members, activists, and functionaries;

--It is efficient in organization and performance.

Inspired by the Leninist directive that it is necessary to find and identify the main task in every situation, the 10th PZPR Congress stressed clearly once again that this task is to rebuild, strengthen, and devise a new quality of the party's ties with the workers, class, the working people, and the people. This task calls for observing principles and, at the same time, searching for new solutions, strengthening ideological and class identity, enriching this identity as required by the challenges and needs of the present time, cultivating glorious traditions and creating new ones, serving the workers class and thus promoting its ideological, political, and organizational strength, and consolidating the party's leadership in the life of the people and the state.

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## KWASNIEWSKI ADDRESSES FRG YOUTH

AU181213 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 11 Mar 87 pp 1, 2

[Ewa Czackowska report: "Remember Yesterday and Think About Tomorrow"]

[Text] It is said of young people that they have an important role to play and may make a contribution to international events. These and similar sayings appear in the press and in the speeches of politicians. What is concealed behind these words will be one of the topics of the Second Forum of Polish and FRG Youth that starts in Sobieszew today.

It is not for young people to determine the fate of the world. No one has any doubts about that. In any case, it is not today that they will make decisions that will change the political landscape. But it is certain that the climate in which these decisions will be made depends on them.

With these words, Aleksander Kwasniewski, minister for youth affairs, encouraged the youth forum's participants to find their place in the world today. The Tuesday [10 March] meeting with the West German delegation at the Office of the Council of Ministers was an opportunity to bring our country closer to the FRG guests. During Monday talks with Sejm Vice Marshal Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, they acquainted themselves with some aspects of our domestic situation, and during a talk with Minister Kwasniewski they learned about problems concerning their Polish partners, if only in outline.

The worries of everyday life and the conditions governing one's start in social and professional life were not the only topics that interested our guests.

Contacts between Polish and West German young people are deeply entwined in great politics. This is illustrated, Minister Kwasniewski observed, by the enormous, almost 10-year break in youth dialogue. The cooling of Warsaw's relations with Bonn at the beginning of the 1980's was not without influence on the development of cooperation between the new generations.

The minister said that the present second forum is a chance to develop this cooperation, and maybe it is the beginning of a new stage that exceeds the framework of youth organizations. All forms of contact conforming to the terms of the treaty on the normalization of Polish-FRG relations deserve support. these contacts do not merit anything that goes against the treaty.

Young people in the FRG also seem to be resistant to such trends that are hostile to peace, Minister Kwasniewski continued. In the end, it is young people who display particular concern for the preservation of peace in Europe. Ideological differences disappear when faced with such supreme values. Concern for the fate of the world unites everyone, regardless of his world outlook. The composition of the West German delegation to the Second Polish-FRG Youth Forum illustrates this.

Concern for the preservation of peace also imposes a memory of the past. The point is not to relive what has happened, but to remember it, if only so that a repetition of history may be avoided, Minister Kwasniewski said. The tragic experience of the war years obligates activity for the sake of a calm tomorrow, mutual tolerance, and understanding. It is young people who may and should create such an infrastructure of peace, and that is what the special role of the young generation also involves. For us, the Second Forum of Polish and FRG Youth will be an opportunity to test young people's performance of this role.

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## WARSAW TV II BEGINS NEW PROGRAMS 30 MARCH

AU241016 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Mar 87 p 6

[Report signed "(J.jur.)": "Off on 30 March--Program II is Gaining Momentum"]

[Text] Zbigniew Napierala, head of Television Program II, and his aides informed journalists at the 17 March press conference held on the premises of the Radio and Television Committee about changes in Program II and about new program proposals, shows, movies, and serials.

Television Program II can be received by 87 percent of viewers--99 percent in urban areas and only 72 percent in rural areas. The program is undergoing various improvements as illustrated by new program proposals and increasingly interesting features, movies, and serials.

Program II will take another stride toward independence as of 30 March. It will stop relaying the television newscast [beamed by Program I] and will beam for 15 minutes its own "Panorama of the Day" at 2130. The authors of this newscast want to make it more lively and original and to include in it various interesting events. Although detailed information was given about the authors' intentions in this connection, the proof of the pudding will be in the eating of it, and this will happen quite soon.

Public opinion polls have shown that the number of Program II viewers has increased 50 percent in the past 4 years. This is reason enough why this program should become progressively independent, acquire its own character, and act as a genuine moving spirit in propagating broadly conceived civilizing achievements of the country and the world.

Program II will have its own theater for the production of interesting plays and shows. It will continue its own movie schedule, which will be more ambitious and will include little known movies produced in Latin America and Greece, for example. Program II will give increased attention to documentaries relating to prominent figures in the world of art and culture and will present more foreign educational movies and an abundance of feature movies.

Music programs will be very interesting, especially the movie versions of the most important world operas. Entertainment, including popular songs, will be more prominent because Program II has contacted foreign television centers and

expects to acquire interesting shows through program exchanges. In addition, it will produce new shows, including the Lancut Festival, for example, which will be patronized by the department of actors' songs. [scena piosenki aktorskiej]

Plans for the near future include joint programs with the USSR, Hungary, and Bulgaria (telebridges), closer links with television centers at home, and a block of programs devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

Such, in brief, are the plans of Television Program II. We will be able to test them as of 30 March.

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## BARYLA ADDRESSES SZCZECIN PZPR PLENUM

AU131455 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7-8 Mar 87 p 2

[Report on speech by PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla at the 6 March plenum of the Szczecin Voivodship PZPR Committee in Szczecin]

[Text] Addressing the plenum, J. Baryla stressed its importance in view of the proximity of the Fourth Central Committee Plenum. We want to enrich the record of plenary resolutions with conclusions voiced during meetings of primary party organizations [POPS], he said. For POPS contain the key to solving all the problems of Polish reality.

Discussing the role and importance of POPS, J. Baryla said that these are changing internally; consolidating their class, workers' nature; developing democratic mechanisms of action; and perfecting their working methods in line with established goals. Most of them are working steadily, holding regular meetings, assigning concrete tasks to party members and candidate members, and controlling the performance thereof. The most POPS, greater initiative in tackling and solving the problems of their milieus is to be observed.

At the same time, however, one can still see shortcomings and weaknesses in the work of some party cells and organizations, J. Baryla said. It is no secret that apart from energetic POPS we also have weak and anemic ones. This applies especially to those with a small membership.

Implementing the decisions of the 10th Congress, especially concerning the second stage of the economic reform, requires greater energy by POPS among their local milieus, especially in factories and residential areas.

The slogan "POP--facing man" is no propaganda, J. Baryla said. It is a directive stemming from the importance of today's development stage of our country and from our party's Leninist character. One can therefore say that just as we are reaching toward the second reform stage in the economy, so too in party work are we aiming toward a kind of second stage of a struggle for specifics and for a party mission that is inspirational and at the same time performs a service toward people. Right now the economy is the decisive front on which the struggle for socialist Poland's development is taking place.

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## PRAISE FOR BRITISH EASTERN BLOC VISITS

AUI61142 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Mar 87 p 4

[Ewa Boniecka commentary: "Positive Results"]

[Text] The results of the 2-day visit to Hungary by Great Britain's Foreign Secretary G. Howe have demonstrated the further progress in the development of bilateral relations between these two countries and the growing dynamics of general European cooperation. For London this visit amounts to a confirmation of the effectiveness of the British version of "Eastern policy," that is, political rapprochement and tighter economic, cultural, and scientific links with Eastern Europe. For Budapest it amounts to the continuation of the comprehensive East-West dialogue, which is of advantage for the entire socialist community and not only for Hungary.

The Budapest accords on joint investments and the decision to open reciprocal cultural institutes to further better understanding represent concrete and tangible results of the bilateral aspect of the visit. No doubt these accords also help strengthen the ideas of the CSCE Final Act. The talks between the head of British diplomacy and leading figures of Hungarian political life also confirmed the fact that the two countries attach tremendous hope to achieving an accord on eliminating medium-range nuclear missiles from Europe, that is, to lowering the level of nuclear arsenals in Europe.

The fact that Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher will pay an official visit to the USSR within 3 weeks is an indication of further significant East-West dialogue. It goes without saying that positive results of diplomatic visits are not produced in a vacuum, but are created by concrete efforts on the part of the Eastern and Western governments to open a new chapter in mutual cooperation and to contribute toward progress in the control over armaments. The room for action in this regard is open not only to the big powers, but also to all those countries that correctly interpret the positive change in the international climate.

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## POLITYKA'S STAND ON WRITERS UNION CRITICIZED

AU101456 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 21 Feb 87 p 8

[Article by Bogdan Bartnikowski, deputy chairman of the Warsaw Branch of the Union of Polish Writers and secretary of the Primary Party Organization of PZPR Writers: "Speaking Calmly About the Union of Polish Writers"]

[Excerpts] From the very beginning of this year, POLITYKA authors and journalists have again turned their concerned attention to Polish literature and the Union of Polish Writers. I say "again" because a year earlier--in the period before the union's second congress--POLITYKA continued to publish a series of articles that displayed equally concerned attention and discredited the union as a representative of the literary community, with commendable consistency.

Now, at the beginning of 1987, POLITYKA is again writing about the need for bold measures in solving the problems of writers and for urgent changes because--allegedly--the Union of Polish Writers does not represent the writers' community and because the cream of Polish writers is outside the union (as supposedly shown by greatly exaggerated figures), while mediocrities have taken power, have barricaded themselves in the union's headquarters in Krakowskie Przedmiescie, and are betraying no intention of opening the door for hundreds of genuine writers who want to join the union and who, goodness knows why, continue to be discriminated against.

Is the Union of Polish Writers a closed shop? Does it have in it writers of literary importance? Do the activities of the present main administration of the union help to improve the situation in the Polish literary community?

These and other questions should be answered by the people who are genuinely committed to literature and the union. Viewing the activities of the union authorities from the inside, we can certainly have reservations against their efficiency and against the manner in which they approach the issues of literature and its creators. However, I am convinced that the union is an open shop both for the members of the former union and for young writers, who have begun their literary work in the past few years and almost 150 of whom have been admitted into the present union. I think that POLITYKA writers are not so much concerned for young writers as for disrupting the present structures of the union by trying to have a new congress of the union convened after only a year of the present authorities' term and trying to ensure that all members of the union that was dissolved in 1983 attend the new congress.



I think that activities with this purpose are harmful to the literary community because even in such an individualized community as the writers' community, over 50 percent of the members of the former union decided to join the new union, whose statute recognizes the political principles of the PPR system. Does the fact that so many members of the dissolved union were in favor of setting up a union that went for partnership and not opposition to the authorities, not attest to the conviction of most writers that such a union, and no other, is necessary? The reasons for the most difficult decisions to be made by several hundred writers were based on the still-fresh memories of the events before December 1981 when the Union of Polish Writers steered a very dangerous course and when the union leadership refused to correct its political conduct in any way at all. It is this that we must bear in mind when today one talks about the need for urgent reconstruction of the union's legal authorities, who act in line with the mandate given them by their electors.

The literary community has experienced serious tremors in the past few years. I am certain that the activities of the union's administration, whose unyielding attitudes resulted in the 1983 dissolution of the union, were disproved by most union members. I think that, despite various shortcomings, the activity of the present administration aimed at attracting vacillating writers enjoys more support than the activity of the pre-1983 administration. The idea that a general congress of writers should be convened to put it mildly, [is] naive, especially if it is to be convened on the initiative of the present union's administration.

What we now need is cooperation based on goodwill of all writers. We need a mature discussion to reduce differences as well as just and imaginary pretensions. The activity of the union's authorities must respond to these needs, which can also be solved with the help of a friendly press. Unfortunately, POLITYKA's activities are against the integration of the literary community.

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## MIODOWICZ ADDRESSES GOVERNMENT-OPZZ MEETING

AU111207 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Mar 87 p 2

[Report on speech delivered by Alfred Miodowicz, PZPR Politburo member and chairman of the All-Polish Trade Union Accord, at a joint session of the Council of Ministers and the Executive Committee of the All-Polish Trade Union Accord, held in Warsaw on 2 March]

[Text] PAP--Three months have passed since the Trade Union Congress. Today we are talking about how to implement the decisions made at it. The observations voiced during the discussion on a time frame for the implementation of congress decisions were valid. We asked the premier to take them into consideration.

This document should assist operational cooperation between the government and the trade union movement, and it should also make it possible to supervise the implementation of its provisions. The discussion has affirmed that the intentions of the government and the All-Polish Trade Union Accord [OPZZ] are the same, but it also revealed differences in assessments of the importance of various issues. But a complete identity of views would not enhance the prestige of the government or the trade union movement. Differences are natural, and in the final instance they are a good thing. In the past, a seeming identity of views blurred differences and engendered social and political crises.

From the very beginning, from the founding of the OPZZ at the "Baildon" steel-works, we have expressed the feelings and expectations of working people. We indicated the need to save housing, to improve the quality of everyday life, to interrupt the price-income spiral, to solve the labor veteran issue, and to eliminate income disparities that are socially unjustifiable.

At the same time, the unions have advanced constructive proposals in the field of economic policy, concerning, *inter alia*, changes in investment ratios that would lead to the restructuring of the economy, the speeding up of authentic economic reform, the introduction of logical rules in fiscal, employment, and pay policy, as well as proposals concerning price-income policy in general.

The unions have never seen their defense function one-sidedly, as giving them the authority to press claims. They did not question real facts, and urged, among other things, the application of innovative technological and organizational ideas. Today, society is pressing for swifter changes in the economy, and this calls for more radical efforts. Changes are possible, the housing construction field provides at least one such example. Much can be achieved without

expending large sums. Obstacles to change are primarily of a formal and bureaucratic character, for example, the housing cooperative monopoly that prevents the expansion of plant housing construction.

We have been consistent on foodstuff price hikes. We consider them to be economically pointless and socially risky. After all, we have the experiences of recent years, beginning with the great pricing operation conducted in 1982. Inflation was the only consequence of these price hikes. The authors of this concept--perhaps it would be more accurate to say that they lacked a concept--for effecting economic recovery probably forgot that material yields to fatigue. This has graver consequences in social life: it leads to the disintegration of fundamental social ties. I am afraid that we may find ourselves in a critical situation.

We are holding talks with the government. We are negotiating and our positions--this is chiefly due to union compromises--are becoming more alike. However, trade unionists see this as one-sided, as concessions on our part. This weakens our prestige. A decline in the prestige of trade unions has always posed a danger to our country and it has not helped to increase the prestige of the authorities.

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## OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON SATELLITE TV PERMITS

AU191120 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14-15 Mar 87 pp 1, 2

[Wieslaw Sasiadowicz report on statement by W. Urbanski, chief inspector of the State Radio Exspectorate: "Television Via Satellite"--date and place not given]

[Text] Our subscribers are just as interested in the possibility of receiving satellite television as those in other countries. As we have no cable television network we are primarily interested in parabolic antennae and the necessary additional pieces of equipment. Who can receive permission to use these things? What kind of technical conditions are connected with this undertaking? A PAP journalist turned to Wladyslaw Urbanski, chief inspector of the State Radio Inspectorate, with these questions.

He said: I must begin by recalling the legal regulations connected with this matter. The question of issuing permits for the ownership and use of radio and television receivers other than those for general reception (including equipment for the reception of satellite television consisting of a converter, that is, a frequency converter, a parabolic antenna, and a television reciever) is regulated by an ordinance issued by the minister of communications on 20 February 1986. It came into force on 1 May 1986. After this we started to receive applications for permits from citizens. However, in view of the fact that the ordinance came into force long before it was technically possible to realize this undertaking--besides, these technical questions still have not been resolved completely--the State Radio Inspectorate did not issue any permits last year. We were concerned about establishing conditions for the appropriate installation of parabolic antennae--they are quite large after all--and about the danger that reception of satellite television may interfere with reception of Polish programs by subscribers who use normal, private television antennae. We also had to consider the political and legal issues connected with international broadcasting, including the question of possible future payments to those who broadcast programs via satellite.

As you can see, there is no shortage of factors that have to be taken into consideration. Nevertheless, the State Radio Inspectorate began to issue permits on 3 March of this year. District inspectorates of the State Radio Inspectorate have been authorized to issue permits to applicants who reside in the areas for which they are responsible. Special forms can also be obtained from these bodies.

Once they are completed and submitted to the district inspectorate they are considered by the local internal affairs office and then we reach a final decision. I must point out that a similar procedure is followed in certain Western countries.

Applications for permits to receive satellite television can be submitted by institutions, enterprises, and organizations as well as by private individuals.

The State Radio Inspectorate has received about 300 applications so far. These include 93 applications from Warsaw, 66 from Gdansk, 35 from Poznan, 22 from Szczecin, and 21 from Kotowice. Among those who have submitted applications are engineers, farmers, scientists, workers, pensioners, and journalists. The first permits have been issued to the Radio Committee and the "Polkolor" Factory in Piaseczno. More permits will be issued shortly. However, these permits are only valid for 1 year, that is, until March 1988. It is possible that there will be no such limitations on permits issued in future.

Almost half the applicants own equipment for receiving satellite television. The others still wish to acquire the necessary equipment. However, the State Radio Inspectorate must approve the purchase of equipment before it approves ownership and use.

The question of possibly manufacturing such equipment in Poland or importing it is not something that the State Radio Inspectorate has the authority to decide. All I can say is that our permits will only cover the use of equipment manufactured by plants that have concessions to do so.

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## U.S. SCIENTISTS VIEW POLISH ECONOMY

AU121737 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 28 Feb 87 p 13

[Pawel Bozyk article: "Polish-U.S. Relations--An End to the Stalemate?"]

[Excerpts] Five years of retrogression in Polish-U.S. relations have caused losses above all to the Polish economy. The multiple drop in the value of trade compared with the seventies, restricted scientific and cultural exchanges, reduced tourism, and many other troubles have been estimated in dollars many times already. It is impossible to calculate some of these dollar losses, although they will be a burden on the Polish economy for a long time to come.

I am returning to this subject in view of a change in the U.S. stance toward Poland and in view of the lifting of the last restrictions imposed on Poland.

The Polish-American scientific conference organized by the University of Pittsburgh on 5-6 February 1987 became a pretext for presenting certain changes in the U.S. attitude toward Poland. This conference was attended by representatives of the University of Pittsburgh who are interested in the Polish economy and by a larger group of U.S. scientists and other people in Polish affairs.

The conference was the first such meeting in many years and was held in an atmosphere of partnership and objective argumentation. It was not attended by people holding views that make it impossible to continue discussion and it was devoid of the incidents that had been so frequent during previous recent discussions on Poland.

Although the conference was supposed to present scientific views on the lines of the Polish economy's long-term development, in fact it did become a dialogue on possibilities for improving Polish-U.S. relations in the immediate future.

During the conference the U.S. participants devoted much attention to the features of the progressive normalization of U.S.-Polish relations, a normalization which they interpret in a manner different from that in the seventies.

At that time the U.S. Administration was one of Poland's chief creditors, who financed its development without sufficient control over the way in which loans were spent. We realize this, the U.S. participants stressed, and we do not wish to repeat this error.

Today one should not expect a repeat of that negative experience. That is why you should not expect direct loans from the U.S. Government. The situation in the credit market is now different: There is no surplus of petrodollars looking for investments. The situation in the U.S. economy is different and so is the political climate of East-West relations.

According to the Americans, the positive result of the recent visit to Poland by John Whitehead, deputy secretary of state, and the reinstatement of the most-favored-nation clause have been a feature of normalization of Polish-U.S. relations. Whitehead's talks indicated much convergence in evaluations, and the fact that diplomatic representatives have been raised to the status of ambassadors may strengthen the process of normalization.

The issue of normalization of Polish-U.S. relations has acquired a slightly new color. Whereas previously the United States addressed political demands to Poland (release of political prisoners, restoring Solidarity, and so on), it is now increasingly stressing bilateral economic problems, especially the requirement that Poland must repay its debts. Unfortunately, its present potential to do so is viewed most pessimistically.

The reform of the Polish economy is an important condition for repaying Polish debts, and the United States continues to watch it with keener attention than does Western Europe, as attested to most clearly by a large number of articles in U.S. specialist periodicals. What is striking in this connection is the competence of the authors who have a fair knowledge of the principles of the reform, the related legal acts, and the results of implementation.

However, our vision of reform does not always jibe with the U.S. vision. Nor are the reasons why the implementation of the reform continues to encounter difficulties always understood in the United States.

The concept of the reform is the first issue. The adoption of the concept of the market economy in the conviction of the Americans. [sentence as published] However, as the U.S. economists see it, the market economy is an economy without directives, plans, or direct state interference in the performance of enterprises. It is an economy that uses private capital on a large scale, convertible currency, and freely fixed prices. The U.S. economists take the view that, aside from certain exceptions, the concept of the Polish reform is not in conflict with the aforementioned concept of the market economy.

If this concept has not been implemented as yet, the reason for this is the tendentious interpretation of the principles of the Polish reform by the people who are responsible for its practical application and who are strangers to any change in the present system of the economy's functioning. The difference between that which was and that which is boils down to reducing the minutiae of economic management and not to substituting the market mechanism for the system of central management.

What will be the fate of the economic reform in Poland? The American economists gave not unequivocal answer to this, but it is possible to distinguish three scenarios.

The first scenario is an optimistic one in that it provides for a successful implementation of the economic reform as conceived at the beginning of the eighties. This would amount to introducing the market mechanism, that is, to replacing directive planning with market planning. As a result, the economic reserves that it is now impossible to tap because of central directives would be tapped. This would primarily help to eliminate manpower surpluses and to employ them in the sectors such as construction, services, and so on, which are now stagnating mainly because of manpower shortages.

The second scenario is a pessimistic one. The concept of the Polish economic reform would remain a piece of paper and the various changes would be spurious changes. The Polish economy would regress still further, and this would intensify internal and external imbalance.

I would call the third scenario, which was discussed at the University of Pittsburgh conference, a scenario of small steps. The system of the central management of the economy would be gradually improved by certain market elements (on the Hungarian pattern). This would be so primarily in the private and cooperative sectors (services, handicrafts, and small trade). The importance of market mechanisms in the socialized economy would also increase as this economy continued to regain balance through the development of production or the increase in prices. However, these mechanisms would function as subjects of central planning.

The decisions to open the Polish economy to the world were made as soon as it contracted its debts. The U.S. economists maintain that the opening is the only way out for every economy with debts.

This is so for several reasons. The first reason is the need to restructure industry. The only solution is to reorient it toward foreign markets. To do this it is necessary to develop those lines of production that can be sold abroad. It is obvious in this connection that it is primarily effective production that counts.

The conference agreed that the autarchic character of the Polish economy seen on the one hand as isolation from foreign countries in the process of making investment and production decisions and, on the other hand, as limiting the function of foreign trade to the necessary minimum, constitutes the main barrier to economic development and the basic restriction on the economic reforms in Poland.

It will be impossible to improve the system of the Polish economy's performance without opening the economy, but this opening is impossible under conditions of an economy run by directives. This was the dominant thesis of the Polish-American conference organized on the initiative of economists.

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CSO: 2600/476



## WRITER ON SOCIAL REALISM OF FIFTIES

AU201453 Warsaw KULTURA in Polish 11 Mar 87 p 15

[Report signed "(tom)": "Lem About the Fifties"]

[Text] After having been awarded the Jurzykowski Foundation Prize, Stanislaw Lem sent a letter to the foundation excusing himself from personally attending the award ceremony. In his letter he referred, inter alia, to his first years as a writer and to the literature of the fifties as a subject of lively discussions. "In the past few years," he wrote, "the so-called writing at the unofficial level in our country as well as emigre publications have jointly been thrashing the question of why such a tremendous majority of our creative people succumbed to the imperatives of social realism [socrelaism]. The reasons for this have mostly been defined as a desire for material gains and as a fear of the consequences of refusal.

"Even writers and poets as brilliant and prominent as Zbigniew Herbert have allowed themselves to reduce that question to those two reasons.

"I cannot claim that I myself am without a blemish, although my first books headed by 'The Hospital of Transfiguration,' which was my true debut, were left unpublished by publishing agencies for a number of years. Nor am I entitled to defend or accuse other people. I do not feel like it. All I can say is that I wrote what I believed--I wrote about the future that I though was realizable. It goes without saying that literature knows to extenuating circumstances and that the fact that one behaved stupidly does no credit to one and to one's books. All that remains for one to do is to learn from one's stupidities and never repeat them."

This is just the thing to do, but perhaps we can add that learning from other people's stupidities is much better.

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## ORZECZOWSKI ON PACT MEETING WITH GORBACHEV

LD251946 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 25 Mar 87

[Text] [Correspondent Stefanowicz] This is Witold Stefanowicz from Moscow. The 2-day session of the foreign ministers' committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states ended at 1330. Mikhail Gorbachev met with the participants this morning. Just after the session, I spoke with Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski:

[Begin Orzechowski recording] I would say that this conversation was the farthest removed from any formal protocol. This really was a conversation between the leader of the CPSU, and the leader of a great state, and the ministers of foreign affairs of the socialist community about the most important matters for us all, for [words indistinct] and for the world. It was also about matters of peace, about matters of disarmament, about a reduction of tension, about the connection between events within our countries and events in the Soviet Union--which is called reconstruction [przebudowa] and which we at home call renewal--and international politics, and our desired for peace, our desires for detente, for the creation of a safe world, a world without atomic weapons and the specter of nuclear catastrophe. This was a conversation about what should be done so that our efforts, our desires, our wishes--which correspond to the wishes of all humanity--will actually become a material force, a material fact; it was a meeting about how to perfect our cooperation, how to get through to all people, to all groups and social (?parties), to all continents and to all states with our (?matters); how to make use of them for this straightforward, and I would say elementary and fundamental, conception. The world of the future can only be a world without war, a world of peace, a world of cooperation, a world of secure existence for all. [end recording]

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## RAKOWSKI ARTICLE VIEWS SOVIET RESTRUCTURING

AU121852 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7-8 Mar 87 pp 7, 8

[Article by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, PPR Sejm vice marshal and member of the PZPR Central Committee: "A Great Opening"]

[Excerpts] Observers who are following the changes taking place in the USSR, many of which are of a truly revolutionary character, ask themselves what guarantee is there that restructuring and openness will produce the desired results. There is also a supplementary question, namely, what support from social forces can the CPSU leadership count on in ushering in such bold and far-reaching changes. Mikhail Gorbachev provides an answer to both questions when he says that the Soviet peoples support the policy rooted in the line adopted at the 27th CPSU Congress. There are no grounds for doubting this assurance but this certainly does not mean--and this is clear from his statements--that the Soviet leader attaches little importance to forces that are digging themselves into protective and defensive positions. The events at Alma Ata were a telling example of the existence of forces who do not want to accept the process of change that has been initiated. What is more, our knowledge of the tortuous roads traversed by nations and social classes does not permit one to exclude the possibility that in the future we might also witness the appearance of conflicts of a dramatic kind that are an expression of the struggle between the new and the old, between progress and conservatism.

The Soviet leader's assurances that the Soviet peoples support a policy the essence of which is conveyed by two words that are known throughout the world by now, perestroika and glasnost (restructuring and openness), incline observers to formulate a number of observations concerning the questions mentioned above.

An examination of Mikhail Gorbachev's speeches indicates that he is counting above all on the moral qualities of man. During the course of its development, socialism has often diminished the significance of these qualities, especially during periods of real, justified, and imagined stabilization, or it has failed to create objective conditions that would permit these qualities to be fully exploited in the everyday life of the individual and of all of society. Every nation possesses such qualities, and thus the Soviet nation also possesses them. One can suppose that even if millions of people had become accustomed to living conditions and a way of life that are being subjected to severe and frequently merciless criticism, in their hearts they nevertheless longed for a situation in

which eternal moral norms would not only be observed but would also be carefully protected and taken care of. I think that Mikhail Gorbachev's appeal to these longings is a further guarantee of the success of the intended revolutionary restructuring of all areas of social and political life in the Soviet Union.

While appealing to the aforementioned qualities, the CPSU leadership is constantly increasing the number of conditions that encourage boldness in thought and action. It is putting an end to taboo subjects and it is rationalizing the sphere of politics and the economy. What does this mean in practice? It means nothing other than the creation of favorable conditions for bringing creative forces to the surface, forces that the Soviet peoples have never lacked. Today, barely a few months after the 27th CPSU Congress, one can already talk about the creative revitalization of political, sociological, historical, and economic thought, about a great revitalization in the arts, and about the first effects of the restructuring process in the economy. There is no doubt that in the area of superstructure the Soviet Union has entered a promising new phase of development.

In seeking a guarantee for the success of these bold, revolutionary plans one should also consider what kind of moral and material force is represented by those Soviet citizens who felt frustrated by the stagnation that they noted and who felt discouraged from actively countering the negative phenomena that are talked about so openly nowadays. The persistence of these phenomena hurt the national pride of the Russians and the other Soviet Peoples, it was an affront to their Soviet patriotism. The large number of citizens of that great country who have received an excellent and broad education must have experienced a certain feeling of humiliation when they compared their actual reality, not the one of slogans, with the outside world. The removal of the causes of this state of affairs will strengthen and increase the camp of the advocates of restructuring. There is no doubt that original solutions will appear in the field of democracy, and in economic, social, and cultural policy; in a work, such solutions will appear in all areas of life. Today this is no longer just a theoretical assumption. Let us take the example of Soviet foreign policy. It is characterized by a strong offensive-like approach, by so much boldness, skill, and an open assault on matters that seemed to be beyond discussion.

Everything that is taking place in the Soviet Union has an indirect or direct effect on People's Poland. The PZPR and its ideological political allies warmly welcome the changes taking place in the Soviet Union and the determination that is being shown in continuing the line of restructuring and openness, and they accord this process their full support. The reform-oriented actions undertaken by the CPSU leadership indicate to us that their way of seeing the advantages and weaknesses of socialism is similar to our own. W. Jaruzelski said: "Our party warmly supports this course.... That we are on a common course is a source of great satisfaction and at the same time it provides us with a great opportunity."

The PZPR's attitude to the line adopted at the 27th CPSU Congress is unambiguous. It cannot be anything else in a party that has drawn appropriate conclusions from the mistakes that it has made and their consequences, that is, painful setbacks, and has embarked on a difficult road leading to the rationalization of thought and action, a road that is strewn with many obstacles. It is no exaggeration to

say that every success that the Soviet party scores in implementing its current policy is also a success for us because it affirms the appropriateness of the road on which we embarked at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress in July 1981. Our further progress along this road was clearly set out by the 10th Congress and the program that was adopted at it. Our achievements in democratizing the sociopolitical system are a tangible contribution to strengthening the line of which Mikhail Gorbachev is the leading advocate.

The significance of friendly relations between Poland and the Soviet Union for the future of our nation makes it necessary to go beyond the feelings that are characteristic of the PZPR and its ideological allies. In various communities and among citizens who are interested in domestic and foreign political life the developments in the Soviet Union are the subject of growing interest even if there is an occasional trace of superficial interest generated by events such as the telephone conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Sakharov, and Sakharov's return to Moscow or the interview given by the Polish primate, Cardinal Glemp, to Literaturnaya Gazeta, it is outweighed by genuine interest in and admiration and respect for the course that the CPSU and its leader have chosen.

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## FRG, POLISH YOUTH ACTIVISTS' INTERVIEWED

AU201508 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 16 Mar 87 p 2

[Interview with Jeorgen Axer, deputy chairman of the Deutsche Bundesjugend-Ring, and Marek Ungier, secretary of the ZSMP Main Administration, by SZTANDAR MLODYCH: "They Told SZTANDAR MLODYCH"--on 13 March in Sobieszewo near Gdansk]

[Text] Following the conclusion of the Second Forum of Polish and FRG Youth held in Sobieszewo near Gdansk on 11-13 March, Sztandar Mlodych asked Juergen Axer, deputy chairman of the Deutsche Bundesjugend-Ring, and Marek Ungier, ZSMP Main Administration, secretary, for brief statements.

[SZTANDAR MLODYCH] What did you expect of the second forum and how far are your expectations reflected in the forum's concluding document?

[Axer] Our expectations were very great, particularly with regard to the qualitative development of cooperation between the FRG and Polish youth. And although the final document of contacts, we are still pleased with the results of the forum.

[Ungier] From the very beginning I was realistic about the forum because I had shared in the preparations for it for over a year and was therefore able to see what was going to happen. As Jerzy Szmajdzinski who led our delegation said, the forum ended in complete success. This is certainly no idle boast.

[SZTANDAR MLODYCH] How do you evaluate the opportunities for realizing the forum's decisions and what obstacles do you see in this regard?

[Axer] There have always been certain features in our contacts which, because of the composition of our delegations, have created opposition. That is why this time the process by which we reached accord also took rather a long time. But after this forum we can say that what we have jointly agreed can be implemented. Completely? Even the Bible and the Communist Manifest have not been implemented 100 percent.

[SZTANDAR MLODYCH] The first forum was held 9 years ago, which probably made it difficult to resume dialogue. What about the atmosphere of this forum?

[Axer] When we began preparing this forum some 18 months ago I was under the impression that we were divided by whole worlds in ideology and, above all, in

psychology because of the old prejudices. Today we can say that all of us passed this test with flying colors, even though we did not always present the same views. After all, we live in countries with different sociopolitical systems. Nevertheless, we were able to hold truly meaningful and intellectual talks. After 9 years this was the only way in which the second forum could be held.

[Ungier] Our talks were most candid, but this did not negatively affect their atmosphere. On the contrary, it can be said that this atmosphere was even more advantageous than previously.

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## BARYLA ADDRESSES ZYCIE PARTII STAFF

AU181414 Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish 14 Jan 87 p 2

[Unsigned report: "Jozef Baryla Meets with ZYCIE PARTII Editorial Staff"]

[Text] On 29 December 1986, Jozef Baryla, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary as well as chairman of the ZYCIE PARTII Editorial Council, met with the editorial staff of this biweekly and informed them about the most important party tasks in 1987 in realizing the 10th PZPR Congress resolutions, listing the biweekly's commitments in this connection. He drew attention to the need for constant efforts to improve the methods and style of party activities, and especially to strengthen the discipline of tasks fulfillment. "Today we need perseverance and precision in fulfilling party obligations and in promoting efficiency when doing so," he said.

Comrade J. Baryla also discussed party preparations for the fourth party plenum which will be devoted to strengthening the role and importance of primary party organizations, which determine the strength of the entire party, and said that the party attaches special attention to consolidating activities in the basic social communities--in industrial plants and rural areas. What is at stake is not only the quantitative development of the party in these communities, but primarily improving the performance of the existing party echelons. To effectively reconnoitre the deployment of the party's forces and to level off performance by following the example of the most militant party organizations--this is in brief what we intend to do in the immediate future.

During the meeting Comrade J. Baryla stressed that by actively committing itself to PZPR great political campaigns connected with the 10th Congress, ZYCIE PARTII had made a great stride forward in boosting its adaptability for party work. He also stressed that the editorial staff had made great efforts in fulfilling its tasks and had progressed in editing the biweekly. May you be successful in your editorial work and personal lives, he said in conclusion.

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## CATHOLIC DAILY ON CZYREK'S U.S. VISIT

AU181448 Warsaw SLWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 16 Mar 87 p 2

[Commentary signed "K.W.": "The United States and Poland--A Reconnaissance"]

[Text] For over 5 years there has been no U.S. ambassador in Warsaw and no Polish ambassador in Washington. This is an absurd situation because diplomatic relations at the level of charge d'affaires are regarded as temporary relations. Indeed, this fact denotes the ruin of our traditionally positive relations with the mightiest economic power of the Western world. With no West European country have our relations deteriorated to such an extent in the past 5 stormy years.

The question is: Is the determination to repair Polish-U.S. relations and to restore them to their previous condition mutual or is it just an attempt to preserve international decorum? I assume that the U.S. mission of Jozef Czyrek, chairman of the Sejm Foreign Relations Commission, and of the Sejm deputies accompanying him was calculated to clarify this issue. This diplomatic expedient made it possible to carry out a reconnaissance via contacts with John Cardinal Krol and with scientific, fiscal, and economic circles as well as via official meetings with Secretary of State George Shultz, Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige, and Secretary of the Treasury James Baker. Our delegation also had talks with the Speaker of the House of Representatives, who actually had invited the Sejm delegation to visit the United States, and with the vice president of the United States, who is ex officio the leader of the Senate.

It is also worth noting that our delegation met with Democratic Senator Edward Kennedy, an influential statesman and a friend of Poland and Poles, who was handed a Sejm invitation to visit Poland. As readers remember, not so long ago Senator Kennedy wanted to visit Poland, but his initiative was politely side-stepped in that it was proposed that the visit should take place at some future date. The present invitation has repaired the embarrassment caused at that time. Removing this wrong was the right thing to do because we must never waste the capital of one's friendliness.

Normalization of economic ties in Polish-American relations is for obvious reasons the most urgent commitment. The visit to the WALL STREET JOURNAL, the organ of financial tycoons, stressed most clearly our interest in this commitment.

Everyone knows that repairing economic damage is on the whole a slow and painful process, especially if the potentials of two partners are so uneven. That is why it seems right that emphasis was placed on stimulating political relations because it had been their aggravation that caused us all those economic losses.

Today it is hard to speak even of an attempt to sum up J. Czyrek's 7-day U.S. visit. His was a delicate mission. As a former vice minister of foreign affairs for many years, then a minister of foreign affairs, and now chairman of the Sejm Foreign Relations Commission, J. Czyrek did his visiting job at various levels, registering the extent and condition of the complicated tasks facing a future ambassador after such a long interval. Let us hope that an especially talented political-diplomat will be selected for the post of ambassador in Washington because he will have to play a tremendous role. Political conditions in the United States are more "personalized" than they are in, say, Europe.

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## EXISTENCE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS DENIED

AU161527 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Mar 87 p 12

[Interview with Hipolit Starszak, deputy prosecutor general of the PPR, by Jerzy A. Salecki: "So-called Political Prisoners or a Double Standard of Morality"-- date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Salecki] "Poland holds political prisoners." "Warsaw punishes for convictions." This is what the Western mass media continue to publish. Citing "news from Poland," not only the dyed-in-the-wool enemies of our socialist state, but also serious people who want to be objective keep on asking on the strength of the aforementioned statements: "Why does not Poland free its political prisoners?"

[Starszak] It is impossible to release from prison people who are not held in it. Our law does not know the term "political prisoner." The practice is that, in accordance with our laws, no one can be punished in our country for political convictions or views. Punishment is meted out exclusively to the people who violate the law in force. To do away with any doubt or equivocation: The people whom the West classifies as "political prisoners" stand trials in Poland for concrete crimes.

[Salecki] Can you prove this?

[Starszak] I can give you a classic example. In 1983 Roman Chechlac and Tomasz Lupanow were sentenced to 25 and 13 years, respectively, for slaying Zdzislaw Karos, a militia master sergeant. The Supreme Court reduced these sentences in 1986....

Although much has been written and said about it, it is worth stressing that the sentence was meted out for the action of slaying and not for "political" activities that may have motivated and "justified" the conduct of the perpetrators of this crime. Nevertheless, ever since the sentence was passed, various circles abroad and in Poland have been trying to convince the public that Chechlac and Lupanow were convicted "for politics...."

[Salecki] The West continues to regard Kazimierz Krauze and Jacek Zaba as political prisoners. In December 1985 they cut off leather safety belts in 30 buses. Statements continue to be made that both of them were members of the illegal opposition organizations and that is why the sentence was so severe: 5 and 1/2 years of imprisonment.

[Starszak] This is another example of manipulation with the facts. Every logical person will certainly concede that paralyzing public transportation equipment, which serves thousands and thousands of citizens, is sabotage against the people and not a political activity. Antisocial actions can never be justified on the grounds of pseudopolitics.

Those who defend the saboteurs operating in our country never cite, say, the norms of the penal law in the country that is supposed to be a synonym for freedom--the United States. The Federal Penal Code of that country states that "anyone who intentionally causes damage valued at over \$100 to U.S. property will have to pay a fine of up to \$10,000 or to go to prison for up to 10 years or both."

I would be called intentionally malicious if I said that the U.S. code is not indulgent toward the perpetrators of such damage should they act out of "political motives," an indulgence some Americans continue to demand in the case of the Polish code.

[Salecki] Speaking of motives, some people continue to rise, especially nowadays, in the defense of the persons who have been punished for refusing to do their national service. Aside from political motives, religious or philosophic motives also continue to be put forward in this connection.

[Straszak] Our regulations provide for detailed solutions of the issue of military service or substitute service. The press spokesman for the Ministry of Defense spoke of this not so long ago at a press conference, and TRYBUNA LUDU reported on it.

Ignoring even such basic questions as the patriotic motives of the Polish tradition of devotion to the Armed Forces and ignoring the considerations connected with elementary justice ("why should he who refuses or cites arguments against military service be better off than he who does this service for 2 years because he has no arguments against it?"), We can reduce the entire problem to a double standard or morality and justice.

The Pole who refuses to do his soldierly duty is immediately regarded as a "political prisoner" but every young man who avoids service in one of the Western armies becomes a criminal or deserter. In the FRG Andreas Kleuter was sent to prison twice for refusing to do military service, although he wanted to do some alternative service.

To sum up: It is not concern for one's conscience, but the desire to weaken the Polish defense potential and to maintain or create tensions in Polish society that motivates "defenders of human rights" and all kinds of "defenders of democracy," who continue to search for "political prisoners."

[Salecki] And we have not such prisoners.

[Starszak] We have none and intend to have no "political prisoners." And those of whom some people refer by that term bear responsibility for violating the penal laws.

The issue of so-called political prisoners as raised by the West or by the anti-socialist groups in our country is an attempt to antagonize at least some of our people against the power apparatus, prosecuting bodies, and the administration of justice. Our courts try people for deeds committed against the law and not for "politics," "Conscience," or "convictions."

Before anyone wants to publicly defend those who have been temporarily detained or convicted should study the nature of the charges preferred against them or the motives behind sentences.

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## BRIEFS

MICHALEK ADDRESSES MEXICAN SOCIALISTS--Addressing the congress of the United Socialist Party of Mexico, Zbigniew Michalek, head of the delegation of the PRPR Central Committee, stressed, inter alia, that Poland supports the peace initiatives of the Contadora Group and the support group for Nicaragua and Cuba. He stated that Poland continues to regard the initiatives and actions of these groups as the most important form of peaceful solution to the conflict situation in Central America and as a guarantee of peace and security. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 28 Mar 87 LD] /13323

SOVIET DEPUTIES RECEIVE MALINOWSKI--The Polish parliamentary delegation led by Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski, which is visiting Moscow, has met with Supreme Soviet deputies. They acquainted the visitors with questions related to the program of changes in the USSR, pointing out that these changes are an objective necessity, caused by both domestic and external factors. The Soviet deputies said that these changes must be of a genuinely revolutionary nature, and only a profound democratization of public and economic life can serve as a guarantee of their success. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 26 Mar 87 LD] /12232

ORZECZOWSKI AT MOSCOW MEETING--Ministers of foreign affairs of the Warsaw Pact member states have arrived in Moscow. They will take part in another session of the Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of these states. Poland is being represented by Marian Orzechowski. Diplomatic heads of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Romania and Hungary are also present. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Mar 87 LD] /12232

ROCK MINERS THREATEN STRIKE--Rock miners associated in the Federation of Works Trade Union Organizations of open cast mining have today renewed protest strike action demanding the realization of their privileges under the miners' charter. Until now work has not been completed in connection with the amendment of the December 1981 Council of Ministers law. The protest has been undertaken by nine works organizations, mainly from Lower Silesia. Work has not been stopped. The action is based on the posting of symbols, workers' and miners' flags in visible places on the works grounds. Federation Chairman Zbigniew Kolbowski says that if the demands of the rock miners are not met by 26 March, a warning strike will be carried out in agreement with the Trade Union Law. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 16 Mar 87 LD] /12232

USSR ENVOY ON POLICY CHANGES--At 1500 a meeting began between Boris Sakharov, first secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Poland, and a 100-strong contingent of representatives of trade unionists from the tri-city. In a lively discussion Boris Sakharov informed the meeting about the course of the debates by the congress of Soviet unionists in which he took part. He also explained the changes taking place in USSR policy and in the awareness of its community. [Text] [Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 1918 GMT 13 Mar 87 LD] /12232

JARUZELSKI RECEIVES UNION RESOLUTIONS--To Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the PPR State Council, in Warsaw. We, trade unionists representing the work forces of the National State Enterprise for the Extraction of Brown Coal, view with profound disquiet the growing tension in international relations, which threatens peace, the highest good for mankind. We know the price of peace; World War II cost millions in lives. In view of this, we call on trade unionists and trade union organizations all over the world not to spare efforts aimed at creating good neighborly relations between countries and at effecting universal disarmament as a guarantee of peace. Long live peace and cooperation between peoples. The Second Accountability and Election Congress of the Federation of Brown Coal Extraction Trade Unions, Wroclaw, 20 February 1987. ["Resolution" adopted at the Second Accountability and Election Congress of the Federation of Brown Coal Extraction Trade Unions and sent to Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, PPR State Council chairman] [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Mar 87 p 1 AU] /12232

MINISTERS MEETING ON AGRICULTURE--A meeting in the office of the Council of Ministers has discussed the supply of manufactured equipment to agriculture. From the reports it emerges that there are no problems with basic spare parts for agricultural machinery. However, parts for heavy tractors produced in cooperation with Czechoslovakia, and for machinery imported from the GDR, are in short supply. Assessments of supply of fertilizers, herbicides, and pesticides were less sanguine. Payment funds recently released for imports of raw materials will permit factories to complete the plan for the first half-year in full for output of phosphate fertilizers and pesticides. Agreements have been signed with factory work forces to make good arrears for supply of nitrate fertilizers. Speaking at the conclusion of the meeting, Zbigniew Szalajda said that the restriction indicated on allocations of fuel for agriculture was not in accordance with the decision of the Council of Ministers. Jerzy Wozniak, minister of the materials and fuel economy, was charged with execution of this matter. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 14 Mar 87 LD] /12232

SIWICKI MEETS PARTY SECRETARIES--Individual leadership and the basic party organization--how, when in authority, to take advantage of the wisdom of party collectives; what to do in order to raise the level of basic party organizations in the army. That sums up some of the subjects discussed at a meeting of Army General Florian Siwicki, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, minister of national defense, with secretaries of basic party organizations in the Poznan garrison. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 15 Mar 87 LD] /12232

DEFENSE MINISTER AT PILA MEETINGS--The state of security and public order in Pila Voivodship has been assessed during a meeting of the Voivodship Defense

Committee (WKO), in which the deputy chairman of the National Defense Committee for Strategic and Defense Affairs and minister of national defense, Army General Florian Siwicki, participated. He is also participating in a Sejm deputies' meeting at the porcelain and semivitreous chinaware plant in Chodziez, where problems of party work, the plant's economic situation, and also the way of dealing with proposals put forward during the previous visit by General Florian Siwicki to the Chodziez plant are the main subjects of discussion. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 11 Mar 87 LD] /12232

SIWICKI PRAISES WOMEN--On 6 March Army General Florian Siwcki, minister of national defense, received a group of female military employees in Helenow to mark International Women's Day, during which he praised them for their devotion to duty in raising the children of soldiers and in looking after military accommodation. [Summary] [Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 7-8 Mar 87 p 2 AU] /12232

SWICKI MEETS LOCAL POPULACE--Army General Florian Siwcki, minister of national defense, toured the Suwalki Voivodship in north east Poland on 1 March, where he met with local inhabitants and army officers stationed in the area. His talks mainly concerned the young generation, especially its knowledge of history and patriotic attitudes. He also spoke of the need for tighter bonds between society and the armed forces. [Summary] [Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 2 Mar 87 p 2 AU] /12232

NEW VOIVODA--The chairman of the Council of Ministers has recalled Colonel Kazimierz Buczma from the post of voivoda of Kalisz Voivodship in connection with the resumption of his duties under the authority of the minister of national defense and has conveyed to him sincere thanks for his work of several years as voivoda. In his place, on the recommendation of the Kalisz Voivodship People's Council, the chairman has appointed Marian Jozwiak voivoda of Kalisz. M. Jozwiak was born in 1935 to a workers' family. He received a degree in administration at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan. He began his working life as an elementary school teacher in 1953, followed by leadership posts in Kalisz Voivodship educational establishments. He had been deputy voivoda of Kalisz from 1985. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDI in Polish 7-8 Mar 87 p 3 AU] /12232

NEW AUSTRIAN AMBASSADOR--On 6 March State Council Deputy Chairman Kazimierz Barcikowski received in an audience at the Belvedere Palace Andreas Somogyi, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Austria, who presented his letters of credence. [Excerpt] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7-8 Mar 87 p 3 AU] /12232

MARITIME TU CONGRESS MEETS--Seventy delegates representing the 13,000-strong trade union membership and the 25,000-strong workforce will hold debates today during the Third Congress of the Federation of Trade Unions of Maritime Ports. Among matters already settled, the report by the Federation Council mentions the work remuneration systems and the distinct improvement in securing better conditions for recreation after work. As for the draft program, it devotes most attention to the future collective agreement, which is essential for the regulation of the wages systems as well as the defense of the interests of the unions belonging to the federation. [Text] [Szczecim D/S in Polish 0600 GMT 16 Mar 87 LD] /12232



NEW INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL--The Industrial Design Council held its inaugural meeting in Warsaw on 11 March. It was created by a decree of the Council of Ministers on 30 March. Its chairman is Deputy Premier Zbigniew Szalajda, and it consists of 24 representatives of the State Economic and Administrative Administration, designers, and industrials. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Mar 87 p 3 AU] /12232

POLISH-SOVIET COOPERATION--The third plenary session of the Polish-USSR Council of Directors of Scientific Research and Innovation Establishments, involving establishments from both countries that are undertaking direct bilateral cooperation in this sphere, was held in Krakow on 12 March. It was attended by Deputy Premier Zbigniew Szalajda and Mikhail Kruglov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology. The meeting stressed the role of direct cooperation between research establishments in the implementation of the Polish-Soviet long-range scientific-technological cooperation program. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Mar 87 p 3 AU] /12232

RCP DELEGATION--A study group of RCP political employees headed by Nicolae Croitoru, RCP Central Committee candidate member and secretary of the Bucharest Municipal RCP Committee, has visited Poland. The Romanian guests were interested in the implementation of the 10th PZPR Congress resolutions. The delegation was received by Janusz Kubasiewicz, PZPR Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee, who informed the guests about the work of the Warsaw PZPR Committee. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Mar 87 p 2 AU] /12232

POLISH-AUSTRIAN TALKS--Hannes Androsch, former Austrian vice chancellor and finance minister and now president of Creditanstalt-Bankverein, the largest Austrian bank, visited Poland at the invitation of T. Bartowski, president of the Warsaw Trade Bank. The subject of the talks was a global and long-term solution to the problem of Polish foreign debts. H. Androsch also met with Deputy Premier Wladyslaw Gwiazda, Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski, and Finance Minister Bazyli Samojlik. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Mar 87 p 2 AU] /12232

RAKOWSKI MEETS STUDENTS--On 13 March Sejm Vice Marshal Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski attended a student meeting at Szczecin University in order to discuss the country's socioeconomic development strategy. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14-15 Mar 87 p 2 AU] /12232

TUGBOAT CONTRACT FOR USSR--The Szczecin shipyard, Odra, has concluded a contract with the Soviet Union to build for the USSR 14 modern roadster tugs with Cegielski 570 horsepower engines, able to sail up to 50 miles from shore. The first vessel will be delivered this year, and the last in 1990. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 9 Mar 87 LD] /12232

CANCER RESEARCH FUNDING--The Presidium of the Council of Ministers Committee of Science and Technology has allocated 760 million zlotys and 200,000 dollars this year for Professor Stanislaw Tolpa's research into the application of biogenic substances derived from peat in the fight against cancer. The research will be continued by Prof Stanislaw Tolpa and medical institutes and clinics. The conference was chaired by Zbigniew Szalajda, the deputy premier. Prof Stanislaw Tolpa has been working for 30 years on a biostimulator, supposed to increase the body's immunity. [Text] [Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 9 Mar 87 LD] /12232

## BRIEFS

GOMOIU TO HEAD SPORTS COUNCIL--The joint plenum of the National Council for Physical Culture and Sports and the Romanian Olympic Committee was held on 14 March. Comrade Emil Bobu, member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee participated in the plenum and gave a speech. The participants pledged to do everything possible to improve physical education and sports activity and to eliminate defects and shortcomings which still exist in sports activities. The plenum released Comrade Haralambie Alexa from his position as chairman of the National Council for Physical Education and Sports and president of the Romanian Olympic Committee and elected Comrade Lt Gen Gheorghe Gomoiu chairman of the National Council for Physical Education and Sports and president of the Romanian Olympic Committee. [Excerpts] Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian 14 Mar 87 p 5] /9738

CSO: 2700/189

## WORKPLACE IMPROVEMENTS DEMANDED FOR SLOVAK WOMEN

Bratislava LUD in Slovak 5 Jan 87 p 2

[Article by Zuzana Dunajska: "Do Not Fear To Tread Impassable Roads"]

[Text] Women's contribution to the development of our society is generally well recognized. We are aware that women make up almost 48 percent of our workforce; however, this fact would reveal only one part of the actual situation. All those who consider this reality must look also at the flip side of the coin; most women of the productive age are also wives and mothers. Has our society offered them adequate opportunities for the fulfillment of their duties in their workplace and at home?

That is the bottom line; moreover, at present, when the essential problem of introducing R&D in our daily life is the foremost of all our tasks, we must come to grips with the new developments related to the high number of working women, so that new circumstances which we may not even anticipate today would not confound us later with unsolvable problems. The qualitatively new needs of our society compelled our leadership, including the Presidium of the CPSL Central Committee, the SSR government, the Slovak National Council, individual ministries and other agencies, to address themselves from precisely that point of view to women's working and living conditions. Furthermore, the Slovak Women's Association is seriously dealing with these issues; an example is a recently held seminar in which leading scientists and other experts from all over Slovakia participated.

It seems that the time has come to search for unprecedented, original solutions for the social status of women, especially of mothers, and to find the answers promptly, above all for the benefit of the family as the basic unit of our society. For instance, it is the highest time to use to better advantage the opportunities for adjusting women's work schedules. Unfortunately, thus far only a handful of our prominent economists have been wrestling with the solution to the so called flex time for the mothers of small children. That is a shame, especially because it would hardly disturb the work schedule; on the other hand, it would not so much help women as it would benefit children, particularly babies and toddlers who must be awoken very early in the morning and taken to day-care centers, so that their mothers may be on time for work, let us say, at 6 AM.

If we want and legitimately expect women to be full partners, equal in performance on the job, we must make that possible by providing appropriate conditions for them. It is not without interest that more than 81,000 women in Slovakia are still doing hazardous work and are exposed to excessive noise, dust, toxic chemicals and dangerous conditions in their immediate environment. It is the same story with their lifting of excessive weight. These problems are not impossible to solve -- all we need is more consideration from those who can make changes. Although this does not mean cheap interventions in the process of production, our current situation cannot afford any delay particularly in the textile, garment and shoe industries which have the highest concentration of female workers. What solutions are there?

Introduction of new technologies, robots and manipulators -- in other words, all kinds of achievements made possible by R&D. At the same time, this would help us deal with such an urgent problem as monotonous jobs at assembly lines. Psychologists, among others, stress that a prompt solution is imperative -- also in view of the unusually high fluctuation in enterprises and factories. Not every woman can cope with increased physical demands of assembly line jobs. In places which do not have sufficient funds to eliminate such stressful work, it may be advisable to introduce more frequent breaks, aerobics or other methods to dispel the monotony of the work process.

Another crucial problem is overtime work which is mostly due to poor labor organization and unprofitable supplier-consumer relations. New governmental measures adopted in late 1986 should considerably mitigate this particular problem. In providing better working conditions for women, it must be underscored that this is not only to women's advantage, but to everybody's benefit, and that it will enable them better to fulfill their role as mothers. It is important to provide them with better aids for personal protection.

As it appears, there are plenty of tasks for us for the coming months and years in giving women a greater role in our social and labor sphere; however, we need more courage to start to tread impassable roads.

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END